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OF THE

PEOPLE IN LONDON.

LIFE AND LABOUR OF THE PEOPLE IN LONDON

EDITED BY

CHARLES BOOTH

VOLUME III

BLOCKS OF BUILDINGS, SCHOOLS, AND IMMIGRATION.

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PART I.—SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

[*This volume contains a number of essays on subjects bearing upon the main purpose of the work.*]

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CHAPTER I.

BLOCKS OF MODEL DWELLINGS.

(1.) Statistics.

In commencing any inquiry as to the block buildings of London, we must first decide "what is meant by a block dwelling." This is not such an easy matter as it seems when an ordinary suburban dwelling-house is contrasted with one of the huge blocks of tenements which cast their shadows across some of our streets. Yet, between these two, a graduated series might be easily arranged, and although there would be no doubt as to each end of the chain, opinions would differ as to where the houses ended and the blocks began. Thus, within two miles of the City, especially south of the Thames, are many tenement houses, with three or four floors, each floor fitted for the accommodation of a family, and usually let direct to the occupier; although in some cases one of the tenants takes the whole house and sub-lets. Again, many large houses built in former years for a well-to-do class are now let in tenements. The original occupants have sought some other neighbourhood, and the owner, finding his houses too large for the requirements of the poorer people left in the district, after slight alterations—water, it may be, laid on to every floor, and, perhaps, an extra closet constructed—lets the rooms to a number of families. Many examples of this kind are to be found in Wapping and Deptford, and in a lesser degree in other localities.

Tenement houses such as these have been regarded as

beyond the limits of this investigation, and in what follows only those blocks of dwellings (let at weekly rentals) have been included in which the staircase common to the occupiers is also open to the public. If there be an outer door or gate it is not fastened, at any rate, during the day. This definition is intended to exclude ordinary tenement houses, and also excludes the better class dwelling with a closed outer door, and a bell to each tenement. It thus limits the inquiry to blocks of dwellings specially erected for the accommodation of the working classes.

Having now defined the extent of the inquiry, the bases on which it rests may be stated. The groundwork is the information scheduled by the School Board visitors in 1887-89 as abstracted in our note-books. These particulars have been collated and arranged according to School Board Divisions, and they provide a basis from which the population resident in these buildings may be estimated and its social condition ascertained. To obtain information as to the amount of light and sanitary accommodation all the principal blocks have been visited; notes taken on these points and the dwellings arranged in groups in accordance with these facts.

The development of the "flat" system has been very rapid during recent years; indeed, in the newer suburbs nearly all the new houses are built to accommodate more than one family, while in some places miniature towns have sprung up built in this way, as at New Cross and Rotherhithe, where Springfield and Cliftonville provide accommodation for a large number of families. The increase of the number of "blocks" and dwellings provided is indicated in the following table which shows the number of dwellings built since our information was obtained from the School Board visitors (1889) and now added to make the list as nearly as may be complete up to the present date (March, 1891).

Table I. Block Dwellings scheduled in 1889 *and those opened since that time, arranged in School Board Divisions.*

School Board Division.	No. of Blocks Scheduled 1887-89.	Comprising Tenements.	No. of Blocks opened since.	Comprising Tenements.	Percentage Increase of Tenements since scheduling.
Chelsea.	13	535	3	317	59·2
Westminster	45	3,869	9	502	12·9
City	8	420	—	—	—
Marylebone	32	1,898	3	453	23·8
Finsbury	79	7,141	8	520	7.3
*Hackney	67	4,190	6	223	5·3
*Tower Hamlets . . .	51	3,256	15	1,869	57·4
Southwark	56	5,263	4	93	1·8
Greenwich	6	307	—	—	—
East Lambeth . . .	40	3,014	7	602	19·9
West Lambeth . . .	21	1,223	2	75	6·1
Total . .	418	31,116	57	4,654	14·9

The increase is probably slightly greater than the figures indicate, as every block was scheduled in 1887 and 1889, while some dwellings erected since may have escaped notice. The increase is general in the inner ring and greatest in the west and south. The growth still continues and several large blocks are now being built; amongst them being four by the Guinness Trustees at Hackney, Finsbury, Walworth, and Chelsea, two by Mr. Hartnoll in Rosebery Avenue, and some near Oxford Street by the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company. Even this activity seems scarcely to maintain a supply equal to the demand, for nearly all the blocks, in the central districts at least, are full, and in some cases the Superintendents have lists of would-be tenants waiting for vacancies.

In this connection, it may be noted that in the west of London the demand for this class of accommodation is

* Scheduled in 1887; other Divisions in 1889.

much greater than in the east. There is scarcely an empty tenement to be found in the Westminster Division (which includes the whole district south of Oxford Street); but passing eastward the number of unoccupied dwellings increases, and at Deptford half the tenements are empty.

The great diversity of types embodied in these dwellings makes it somewhat difficult to arrange a system of classification which shall embrace all. As a primary division it has been thought best to arrange the dwellings in four groups, according to the ownership or management, viz. :—

(I.) Buildings belonging to philanthropic and semi-philanthropic associations, *i.e.* those which do not make profit their first consideration;

(II.) Buildings belonging to large trading companies, and with these are classed dwellings erected by private owners, when they have four or more blocks, and consequently may be regarded as on a similar footing as the companies;

(III.) Buildings belonging to private owners or of which the landlord is unknown or not in evidence; and

(IV.) Buildings erected by employers for their work-people.

With a few exceptions noted hereafter, groups I., II., and III. correspond with three kinds of buildings, into one of which nearly all the block dwellings can be placed. Group I. contains nearly all the best blocks in London; it includes most of the dwellings in which the maximum amount of open space and light are allowed, and in which sanitary arrangements and the comfort and convenience of the tenants have been studied. To the owners of the dwellings in this group is principally due the improved and improving standard attained in the construction of "models." The dwellings erected by the Peabody Trustees, the Corporation of the City of London, the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes, and the Improved Industrial Dwellings

Company, fall into this group.* Group II. also consists mainly of large blocks of buildings, but they are more closely packed and the lower tenements are generally insufficiently lighted. These dwellings tell the visitor that the dominant idea of the architect in planning them was not the comfort and well-being of the people who should inhabit the buildings, but "what is the greatest number of tenements that can be built '*to let*' on the given area." On the other hand, commanding large amounts of capital, and building on a large scale, the owners of these dwellings can take advantage of modern sanitary and other improvements so that though usually darker and more densely populated than the first class, these buildings are not always deficient in sanitary and other conveniences. The third class (III.) is a mixed group; the chief point in common being that the blocks are usually much smaller than those included in the previous classes. It contains some very good blocks philanthropically owned, but the great majority

* The following comparative statement of the financial position of some of the principal Companies owning blocks in Group I., compiled from the published accounts for 1890, may be of interest.

Years in existence.	Name.	Paid-up Capital.	Amount Borrowed.	Cost of Buildings.	Gross Rental, 1890.	Percentage of Gross Rental on Cost.	Expenses, 1890. (Rates, Repairs, and Management.)	Percentage of Expenses on Cost.	Dividend.
		£	£	£	£		£		
27	Peabody Trust	1,023,446	212,333	1,233,846	62,568	**5·1**	25,456	2·1	—
28	Improved Industrial Dwellings Co., Ltd. ..	550,000	370,923	1,061,991	97,103	**9·1**	39,748	**3·7**	**5**
47	*Metropolitan Association	192,200	64,578	272,533	23,183	8·5	†12,072	4·8	4½
9	East End Dwellings Coy.	61,904	17,556	76,492	5,855	7·6	2,191	2·9	4½
6	Four per cent. Industrial Dwellings Coy. ..	95,500	—	95,480	‡5,623	7·9	1,561	1·6	4

* Includes 239 cottage tenements: 168 at Penge and 71 at Mile End New Town.
† Includes exceptional structural repairs on three of the older estates.
‡ Includes only seven months rental on building just opened. The percentage given makes allowance for this.

It is noteworthy that the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company, though doing very well by its tenants, not only pays 5 per cent. per annum, but has so far reduced its indebtedness that the sum of its capital, paid up or loaned, is now less by £141,000 than the cost of the buildings.

in this group are of a very unsatisfactory nature. Often belonging to a small local builder, who from choice or necessity sacrifices everything to cheapness, such blocks are dark and unsanitary; constructed with little or no regard to the comfort of the occupants. A number of dwellings do not, however, fall into either of these classes, and are grouped by themselves. (IV.) These are blocks built by employers for the homes of their work-people. There are not many. The majority are connected with breweries and occupied by their draymen and servants. These buildings exhibit considerable differences; in some cases being built on or forming part of the business premises.

The following tables give the number of blocks of each kind and the number of tenements they provide, with the comparative degree of light, air, and sanitary accommodation, and the estimated population arranged in classes; the whole being grouped according to School Board Divisions, and re-stated for all London.

In these tables the blocks not specially visited are separately stated (marked †). It will be seen that these, though counting up to 129 out of 475, only provide 3,126 out of 35,780 tenements, and only accommodate an estimated population of 19,634 out of 189,108. It is moreover certain that most of them belong to Group III., and it is probable that they are neither better nor worse than the others of their kind.

II.—Block Dwellings arranged in Groups and School Board Divisions.

School Board Division.	Group.	No. of Blocks.	No. of Tenements.	Light and Air.					Sanitation.					Estimated Population in Classes.							
				Very Bad.	Bad.	Fair.	Good.	Very Good.	Very Bad.	Bad.	Fair.	Good.	Very Good.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G & H.	Total.
Chelsea. ...	I.	2	230	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	706	407	—	1,113
	II.	2	155	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	832	121	—	953
	III.	3	83	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	1	2	—	—	17	18	39	446	26	—	546
	†III.	9	384	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	43	294	970	1,256	61	22	2,646
Total	—	16	852	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	60	312	1,009	3,240	615	22	5,258
Westminster	I.	30	3,201	—	—	4	17	9	—	—	—	20	10	—	311	108	2,936	8,738	4,456	277	16,826
	II.	4	402	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	117	399	95	1,611	251	—	2,473
	III.	12	539	—	1	9	2	—	—	3	7	2	—	—	558	273	117	719	238	—	1,905
	IV.	4	117	—	—	1	2	1	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	43	217	524	—	784
	†III.	4	112	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	43	342	143	—	528
Total	—	54	4,371	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	986	780	3,234	11,627	5,612	277	22,516
City	I.	2	277	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	199	1,507	—	9	1,715
	III.	1	32	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	212	—	—	—	212
	†III.	4	94	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	117	87	—	168	87	—	459
	†IV.	1	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	26	139	—	—	165
Total	—	8	420	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	117	87	437	1,814	87	9	2,551

† Not specially visited.

II.—Block Dwellings arranged in Groups and School Board Divisions—(continued).

Marylebone	I.	4	566	—	—	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	216	1,650	1,407	—	3,273
	II.	8	1,080	—	1	2	5	—	—	—	2	5	1	—	—	312	710	2,676	1,788	139	5,625
	III.	6	360	—	1	2	3	—	—	2	3	1	—	—	—	316	441	1,078	1,347	—	3,182
	†III.	16	327	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	43	507	537	1,143	394	—	2,624
	†IV.	1	18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	—	—	100
Total	—	**35**	**2,351**	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	**43**	**1,135**	**1,904**	**6,647**	**4,936**	**139**	**14,804**
Finsbury ...	I.	18	3,505	—	—	7	5	6	—	—	1	10	7	—	610	1,455	1,377	13,090	1,814	—	18,346
	II.	17	2,526	—	1	6	9	1	—	1	3	11	2	—	2,533	3,581	3,048	5,088	784	—	15,034
	III.	20	896	3	2	9	3	3	5	1	8	5	1	26	1,334	922	1,957	1,143	117	4	5,503
	IV.	1	20	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	21	92	—	113
	†II.	2	51	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	39	35	82	100	30	—	286
	†III.	27	634	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	355	481	502	1,918	442	17	3,715
	†IV.	2	29	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	26	139	—	165
Total	—	**87**	**7,661**	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	**26**	**4,871**	**6,474**	**6,966**	**21,386**	**3,418**	**21**	**43,162**
Hackney ...	I.	17	2,284	—	—	3	8	6	—	—	—	7	10	—	753	632	1,983	7,149	719	26	11,262
	II.	17	1,004	1	3	8	5	—	3	3	—	1	—	9	1,186	1,113	1,477	2,585	182	4	6,556
	III.	18	548	2	3	9	4	—	7	5	3	3	—	13	1,100	520	836	1,004	52	—	3,525
	†II.	1	46	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	56	22	108	91	—	—	277
	†III.	20	531	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	1,122	416	632	1,113	160	—	3.473
Total	—	**73**	**4,413**	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	**52**	**4,217**	**2,703**	**5,036**	**11,942**	**1,113**	**30**	**25,093**
Tower Hamlets.	I.	16	2,012	—	—	1	9	6	—	1	—	10	5	—	1,139	—	3,221	5,456	—	35	9,851
	II.	16	2,219	—	1	5	8	2	—	—	5	9	2	17	1,152	26	3,364	6,045	—	61	10,665
	III.	7	304	1	—	5	1	—	2	—	2	3	—	—	394	—	961	416	—	—	1,771
	†III.	26	577	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	56	775	143	1,420	1,070	—	17	3,481
	†IV.	1	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	61	—	—	61
Total	—	66	5.125	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	73	3,460	169	8,966	13,048	—	113	25,829

† Not specially visited.

School Board Division.	Group.	No. of Blocks.	No. of Tenements.	Light and Air.					Sanitation.					Estimated Population in Classes.							
				Very Bad.	Bad.	Fair.	Good.	Very Good.	Very Bad.	Bad.	Fair.	Good.	Very Good.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G & H.	Total.
Southwark ...	I.	11	1,380	—	—	1	4	6	—	—	1	7	3	—	48	208	974	4,304	822	—	6,356
	II.	16	2,796	1	2	8	3	2	1	2	6	4	3	43	901	948	3,771	5,815	697	26	12,201
	III.	31	1,128	2	4	15	8	2	2	5	8	14	2	17	1,022	762	1,975	1,550	333	—	5,659
	IV.	2	62	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	169	169	—	338
Total	—	**60**	**53 6**	**3**	**6**	**24**	**17**	**10**	**3**	**7**	**15**	**2**	**8**	**60**	**1,971**	**1,918**	**6,720**	**11,838**	**2,021**	**26**	**24,554**
Greenwich ...	I.	2	195	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	74	403	112	35	—	624
	†III.	3	56	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	82	256	—	—	338
	†IV.	1	56	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	52	160	—	—	212
Total	—	**6**	**307**	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	**74**	**537**	**528**	**35**	—	**1,174**
East Lambeth.	I.	3	286	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	147	1,213	303	—	1,663
	II.	29	2,664	—	2	20	4	3	—	2	3	21	3	43	784	1,459	1,567	4,339	3,646	165	12,003
	III.	11	606	—	—	6	4	1	2	1	1	6	1	246	299	450	671	797	498	87	3,048
	†III.	4	60	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	156	30	190	35	—	411
Total	—	**47**	**3,616**	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	**289**	**1,083**	**2,065**	**2,415**	**6,539**	**4,482**	**252**	**17,125**
West Lambeth.	I.	1	352	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	112	1,083	217	—	1,412
	II.	8	548	—	—	3	3	2	—	—	3	3	2	—	82	247	1,026	1,706	464	—	3,525
	III.	7	277	—	1	3	3	—	1	3	1	2	—	—	251	96	394	537	134	—	1,412
	†III.	7	121	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	307	334	52	—	693
Total	—	**23**	**1,298**	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	**333**	**343**	**1,839**	**3,660**	**867**	—	**7,042**

† Not specially visited.

III.—Block Dwellings arranged in Groups. All London.

Group.	No. of Blocks.	No. of Tenements.	Light and Air.					Sanitation.					Estimated Population in Classes.							
			Very Bad.	Bad.	Fair.	Good.	Very Good.	Very Bad.	Bad.	Fair.	Good.	Very Good.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G & H.	Total.
I. . . .	106	14,288	—	—	20	50	36	—	1	4	60	41	—	2,861	2,477	11,568	45,008	10,180	347	72,441
II. . . .	117	13,394	2	11	55	39	10	4	8	24	68	13	112	6,755	8,085	15,058	30,697	7,933	395	69,035
†II. . . .	3	97	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	95	57	190	191	30	—	563
III. . . .	116	4,773	8	12	59	30	7	19	20	35	38	4	302	4,975	3,357	7,603	7,690	2,745	91	26,763
†III. . . .	120	2,896	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	86	2,455	2,084	4,523	7,790	1,374	56	18,368
IV. . . .	7	199	—	—	1	5	1	—	1	—	6	—	—	—	—	43	407	785	—	1235
†IV. . . .	6	133	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	78	486	139	—	703
Total Blocks visited .	346	32,654	10	23	135	124	54	23	30	63	172	58	414	14,591	13,919	34,272	83,802	21,643	833	169,474
Total Blocks not visited	129	3,126	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	86	2,550	2,141	4,791	8,467	1,543	56	19,634
Grand Total	475	35780	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	500	17,141	16,060	39,063	92,269	23,186	889	189,108

† Not specially visited.

IV.—Classification of those living in Buildings reported as "Bad," or "Very Bad," as to Light and Air or Sanitation.

	Blocks.	Tenements	Estimated Population in Classes.							
			A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G and H.	Total.
Group I.	1	263	—	351	—	325	316	—	—	992
„ II.	19	2,914	78	2,699	3,503	4,200	5,991	611	13	17,095
„ III.	46	2,286	298	3,352	1,689	3,606	2,493	586	4	12,028
„ IV.	1	9	—	—	—	43	—	—	—	43
Total . . .	67	5,472	376	6,402	5,192	8,174	8,800	1,197	17	30,158
Estimate for Buildings not specially reported	48	1,387	86	1,655	1,044	2,143	2,529	294	2	7,753
Grand Total . .	115	6,859	462	8,057	6,236	10,317	11,329	1,491	19	37,911
Per cent. .			1·22	21·25	16·45	27·22	29·88	3·93	0·05	100

V.—Classification of those living in Buildings reported as "Fair," "Good" or "Very Good," as to Light and Air or Sanitation.

	Blocks.	Tenements	Estimated Population in Classes.							
			A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G and H.	Total.
Group I.	105	14,025	—	2,510	2,477	11,243	44,692	10,180	347	71,449
„ II.	98	10,480	34	4,056	4,582	10,858	24,706	7,322	382	51,940
„ III.	70	2,487	4	1,623	1,668	3,997	5,197	2,159	87	14,735
„ IV.	6	190	—	—	—	—	407	785	—	1,192
Total . . .	279	27,182	38	8,189	8,727	26,098	75,002	20,446	816	139,316
Estimate for Buildings not specially reported	81	1,739	—	895	1,097	2,648	5,938	1,249	54	11,881
Grand Total . .	360	28,921	38	9,084	9,824	28,746	80,940	21,695	870	151,197
Per cent. .			0·02	6·01	6·50	19·01	53·53	14·35	0·58	100

As will be seen in Tables II. and III., the blocks have been arranged in five classes to indicate the comparative amount of light and open space, and a similar classification has been adopted as regards sanitary accommodation. The signification of the terms used may now be explained and illustrated. Dealing first with the amount of light and air, the only dwellings that have been classed as "Very Good" are such as have open spaces in front or behind equal to the height of the building, and of which the lower tenements get direct sunlight during some part of the day. The staircases of these blocks have direct light from the outside, either by a window or large opening. The term "Good" has been applied to dwellings which have an open space, front or back, and in which each tenement has direct sunlight, although possibly not to every window. Staircases and landings are lighted by windows or openings. Most of the dwellings in this class have as good light in front as those classed "Very Good," but the backs are usually duller, especially in the larger blocks. Some may have well-lighted rooms, but a staircase so constructed that no direct light reaches it, as when the stairs are placed at the back of the entrance hall with no light except from windows on the landings. With "Fair," are classed dwellings which are built so closely that direct sunlight never reaches some of the lower tenements, which as a result are always dull, cheerless abodes. The staircases in many of these blocks ascend in the middle of the block and are lighted from above. If the space be small, as it usually is, the lower landings are dark, the light being effectually stopped by the upper floors. Some blocks have extensions at the back with recesses between, reminding one of the teeth of a huge saw. Windows in such recesses have but little direct light. "Bad" has been applied to dwellings in which, although the fronts may be fairly lighted, other windows look into enclosed courtyards, the width of which is but a small fraction of the height of the buildings, or

where the blocks are placed so closely to each other that the sky cannot be seen from the lower floors without leaning out of the window. The staircases if enclosed are always dark, and even if provided with a large opening the light cannot obtain access, except to the upper floors. "Very Bad" has been reserved for blocks in which most of the rooms are dark, and the passages badly arranged and lighted so that for instance numbers on the tenement doors cannot be seen without the aid of a light. In forming an idea of these conditions, it must be remembered that in all blocks, especially on the upper floors, there are some rooms and passages that are well lighted. The test must be applied to the lower floors. In brief, the standard of "Very Good" is that *all* tenements should be well lighted and have free access to the outer air. In proportion as this ideal is forsaken, the buildings are placed lower in the scale.

Turning now to the sanitary conditions, in which are included the drainage, closet accommodation, water supply and the disposal of refuse; a great variety is noticeable in the methods employed and the provision made. Indeed, the standard of excellence is sought in widely different directions, and strong arguments are adduced by the advocates of each system. One party seeks as much as possible to disconnect the drains and closets from the tenements, and attains its object in various ways. Others seek to make the tenement as self-contained as the ordinary house and provide all accommodation within the dwelling, and by ventilation and isolation, endeavour to obviate any possible ill effects. In this inquiry the standard of excellence termed "Very Good" has been given to the best types of both systems. Either the buildings have a separate closet and water supply in each tenement, so arranged that any danger from sewer gas is reduced to a minimum; or, in buildings of the other type, equal accommodation is given, situate conveniently for the tenants, and in a position where it will not attract general attention.

An example of the former class is a tenement with a scullery containing sink, water tap, and copper, and separated from the living rooms by a door. Shut off from this scullery is the closet, either enclosed or reached by a small private balcony. Dwellings in which separate accommodation has been provided for each tenement either on a balcony or the landing, but not so well arranged as in the other case, are classed "Good." With them are included tenements where accommodation is shared by two and in a few cases by three tenants, if such accommodation be good and decently arranged. Most of the Peabody buildings come into this class. Where the accommodation is less in proportion than this, it is termed "Fair," as in a case where a water tap and closet is shared between four tenants on a floor. "Bad" and "Very Bad" have been used to describe inefficient drainage, evidenced by the presence of sewer gas, or a combination of bad drainage and insufficient accommodation. A few instances will better explain the distinction between these and the preceding classes. One block has a scullery on each landing (four tenements) containing the dust-shoot, water tap, and two closets. The latter are defective, and in some cases there is no water for flushing purposes. Another block has a sink and water tap in the living room and a closet (open) on each landing for the use of four tenements. A third has a sink and closet on each landing for the use of six families. These are all classed "Bad." In the "Very Bad" class is one block with the washhouse and closets in an underground basement and a sink and water tap on each landing; this building has five floors. Another block has two open closets and a sink on each landing for the use of ten tenants; and a third with twelve tenements on each floor, has two sinks, two closets, and a small open balcony, protected by an iron railing, as a washhouse. In these "Very Bad" cases, the dwellings and accommodation are filthy in the extreme, and the effluvia such that a visitor escapes to the open air as quickly as possible.

These five degrees of "light and air" and sanitary accommodation are found in various combinations, but there is a certain relationship between them. Thus buildings in Group I seldom go lower than "Fair" in either scale; and well-lighted buildings usually have "Good" or "Very Good" sanitary conditions. On the other hand, buildings where the sanitation is "Bad" or "Very Bad" seldom rise higher than "Fair" in the other scale. There are a few blocks that occupy the lowest place in both scales, and a slightly larger number attain the highest place in both. A description of the conditions obtaining in a few representative blocks will give a better idea of the facts:—

* * * * * *Buildings* ("very bad" in both sections) is a large plain brick building with six floors, the lowest being half basement. Entering by a gate and ascending a few steps a long passage is reached extending from the front to the back of the building. About half way along this passage is the staircase, and facing it is a window frame from which the sashes have been removed and a sink and water tap placed in the opening. This aperture looks out on a small courtyard. On the staircase is another opening to a second courtyard, long and narrow. These two open spaces light, or are supposed to light, the back tenements: their walls have been whitened recently. Close by the sink is the dust-shoot and a closet, and on the stairs is a second closet. This accommodation provides for nearly twenty tenements, one and two-roomed, whose doors open on this passage. The upper floors are similar, save that the passages are much darker, as they have no light from the street and make a turn at each end to give access to the remoter tenements. The inner walls are dirty, and the plaster has fallen from the roof in patches. The basement has been condemned and closed as unsanitary.

* * * * * *Buildings* ("very bad" in both sections) is a four-storeyed block, facing a wide open space. A few steps lead up to the outer door (always open): beyond is a passage with a tenement on each side, and at the end is the staircase facing a door which opens into a little back yard. At the bend of the stairs is a small washhouse; the door is open—it contains a

copper and water supply; in one corner there is a closet, and in another a great heap of ashes, the accumulation of several washing days. Everything is filthy, and the stench very bad. A few more steps lead to a dark passage with two 2-roomed or four 1-roomed tenements. The floors above are similar. A notice outside tells passers that there are "rooms to let, papered and painted, and in good repair"; and that "none but quiet respectable people need apply."

* * * * * *Buildings.* (Light, bad; sanitation, very bad). A large group consisting of four blocks, built with a close courtyard between each. The sides of the blocks front on a narrow roadway, and the basement and ground floor are used as workshops. The four floors above are reached by two staircases, enclosed in brickwork and lighted by openings, built one at the back and the other in the front of each alternate courtyard. The stairs are dark and the brickwork intercepts the light which should reach the rooms whose windows open into these courts, making them dark also. From each side of the landing, which extends from block to block, a short dark passage leads to two and occasionally more dwellings, to reach which the doors of two closets belonging to these tenements have to be passed. These doors are open, and a bad odour pervades the place. Water is laid on to each tenement, and there is a dust-shoot on the stairs.

* * * * * *Buildings.* (Light, bad; sanitation, bad.) A large block, six floors, built on the four sides of a square, the tenements being reached by staircases entered from the central yard. Another block has been built across the centre of the enclosed yard, and is itself dark and makes the surrounding blocks dark also. Tenants have water taps in their rooms, and there are two closets in a scullery on each floor for the use of the four tenements on the floor. The buildings are not well-kept, and the water supply is deficient.

* * * * * *Buildings* (Light, bad; sanitation, fair) form a kind of square, enclosing a yard; two sides of the square are altered dwelling-houses. There are four floors, and the upper tenements are reached by an outer staircase, which leads to an open gallery, extending round the inner front of the block. The rooms are small, and the lower ones dark. Each tenement

has a small scullery about 6 ft. square, containing sink, small copper, and closet; the latter is enclosed by some matchboarding and a door, but the partition does not extend to the roof.

* * * * * *Buildings.* (Light, fair; sanitation, very bad.) Three-storeyed tenements. The stairs are placed at the back, and they, as well as the back rooms, are dark. The front rooms are well lighted as the street is wide. On each landing there is a water tap and closet for the use of the four or six tenants living on that floor. Buildings are dirty, and drains smell badly.

* * * * * *Buildings.* (Light, fair; sanitation, bad.) A six-storeyed block, with seven single rooms on each floor. Light is impeded by high buildings on the opposite side of the street; the stairs are lighted by a small opening. On each floor there are three closets, usually left open, and a scullery with water laid on. Washhouse is on the roof. The floors are dirty.

* * * * * *Buildings* (Light, fair; sanitation, fair) are closely built blocks, containing several hundred tenements. There are two parallel blocks enclosing a yard space, into which other blocks abut at right angles. The outer tenements are light, but the lower floors facing the yard are shaded by the six-storeyed blocks opposite. The stairs are lighted by small openings; the sides are painted a dark colour (increasing the gloomy appearance). That the drainage is not good is evident to the senses.

* * * * * *Buildings* (Light, good; sanitation, good) are well built six-storeyed dwellings. There are two blocks, one of which fronts on the street, and the other on a wide paved courtyard between the blocks. The entrances to the blocks are in the yard, and are reached by means of an archway from the street. The staircases, lined with white glazed bricks, ascend in the centre of each block, and being lighted from above, the lower landings are rather dark. There is a washhouse on each landing for the use of the four tenants, who live on that floor. This contains a copper, water supply, washing trays, and a bath. At each end of the landing there is a sink and water tap, as well as a closet, for the use of the occupiers of the two tenements on that side. All the appliances are in good order, and the buildings are kept very clean.

* * * * * *Buildings.* (Light, good; sanitation, good.) Two five-storeyed blocks with an open courtyard round them. The staircase ascends in a central tower, and communicates with the tenements by galleries. The rooms are well lighted; some have two windows. Each tenement has a sink in the living room, and a closet, with lock and key, outside the tenement door. The dust-shoot is on the staircase, and the washhouses on the roof.

* * * * * *Buildings* (Light, very good; sanitation, good) are built round a large square, about fifty yards across, and the backs of the tenements have an outlook on the surrounding streets. The dwellings are six-storeyed, and each staircase has about thirty tenements; five on a floor. The stairs are lighted by a window, and on each landing there is a washhouse with two coppers, and sets of washing trays, a dust-shoot, and a sink and closet in recesses at each end of the floor for the use of the two or three tenants residing on that side. These recesses also contain a coal-bunker and cupboard for each tenant.

* * * * * *Buildings* (Light, very good; sanitation, very good) stand a little off the main road. A six-storeyed block with a wide asphalted yard in front used as a play-ground, and another at the back for drying purposes. The stairs are wide, lighted by a large opening, and have two tenements on each landing. Each dwelling is self-contained, and has a scullery fitted with copper and sink, and beyond it, shut off by another door, is the closet and coal-bunker. The yards and building are kept very clean, and the stuccoed and painted front gives a cheerful appearance to the dwellings.

The interior arrangements and the convenience of tenements varies greatly in different blocks, and largely determine the degree of comfort possible to the occupants. The number of rooms in the tenement naturally affects the arrangement of the fittings, and a description of a few tenements of one, two and three rooms respectively, will give an idea of the conditions of life in these dwellings. In some blocks there are tenements comprising four, five, and even six rooms, but it will not be necessary to describe these as they are comparatively few in number, the great

majority of tenements being from one to three rooms. Particulars as to the number of rooms in each tenement have been obtained for 188 blocks, comprising 20,441 tenements: of these, 2,824 were single rooms; 9,970 two-roomed, and 6,523 three-roomed dwellings; the remainder, 1,124, consisting of four to six-roomed tenements;* the total number of rooms in these blocks being 46,925.

One-roomed Tenements. With these apartments the amount of convenience varies very much. A few have everything to themselves in a small scullery or balcony, but in the majority of cases, washhouses and closets are shared with one or more other tenants. The rents range from 1*s* 9*d* to 6*s*, according to the locality and the floor.

In * * * * * *Buildings* (Group I. Light, g; sanitation, v. g.), single rooms average about 2*s* 9*d* a week. One seen had an area of 12½ ft. by 10 ft., and was about 8½ ft. high. It was lighted by a large window; contained a range with oven and boiler, and three cupboards. The walls were coloured. The water supply and closet, shared with two other tenants, were on the landing, where a small larder and coal-bunker was also provided.

In * * * * * *Buildings* (Group II. Light, g.; sanitation, v. g.), all tenements, including the single rooms, have separate sculleries. This block is more centrally situate than the previous dwelling, and the rents are higher. A single room with scullery lets at 6*s* per week. The room seen is situated in the basement, and reached by descending half a dozen steps from the street. The outer door opens direct into the room, which, lofty (about 10 ft. high) and of irregular shape, is about 12 ft. by 13 ft. The fittings include a range with oven; by the side is a cupboard, reaching to the ceiling, and there is a movable dresser. The walls are papered and the woodwork grained. Facing the outer door is the entrance to the scullery, which is rather large, and has a small range with oven. It contains a copper, coal-bunker, sink and water tap, and, shut off by a partition, the closet. A door

* In this calculation, the scullery attached to some of the tenements is not reckoned as a room; only those apartments which could be used for living purposes being counted. In the statistics prepared by the various Companies, sculleries or washhouses are usually termed rooms, if they form a part of the tenement.

gives access to the basement yard, which is about 3 ft. below the level of the roadway.

As a contrast to these rooms, a single room in * * * * * *Buildings* (Group II. Light, f.; Sanitation, b.) may be described. The room is about 12 ft. square, and is fitted with a range with an oven. By the side of the fireplace a copper is built. There are no cupboards, only a place for coals. The walls are papered, and the ceiling has been whitewashed. There is a sink and two closets on the landing for the use of the seven tenements on the floor. When seen, this room was occupied by a man, his wife, and five children, or rather four children, for one was in the hospital. The walls were dirty, and the steam from the washing, combined with neglect, had cracked the plaster of the ceiling, and to keep it from falling the tenant had pasted a sheet of paper on the ceiling immediately above the copper. The rent was 3*s* 6*d* a week.

Two-roomed Tenements. In these dwellings separate accommodation is much more common than in one-roomed tenements, although in some blocks in which the three-roomed tenements are self-contained, those with two rooms will have a common washhouse. Rents vary greatly.

In * * * * * *Dwellings* (Group I. Light, g.; sanitation, g.), two rooms let at 5*s* 6*d* a week. The outer door opens into a lobby, in which, hidden by the door when it is open, is a large coal-bin, with shelves above for saucepans, &c. On the left-hand side of the lobby is the living room (15 ft. by 13 ft.), which is papered and lighted by two windows. The fittings include a closed range with oven; dresser with cupboard underneath; another cupboard, the upper part of which encloses the sink, the water tap being seen above. Near this is a door leading to a small pantry, fitted with shelves, and having a small window. Another door leads from the lobby into the bedroom, which is about 12 ft. by 14 ft. It has a small fireplace; is papered and painted, and well lighted by two windows. A separate closet, with lock and key, is provided on the landing outside.

* * * * * *Dwellings* (Group I. Light, g.; sanitation, g.) are within easy reach of the City, but are too close to the railway to be pleasant abodes. The two-roomed tenement lets at 6*s* 6*d* a week. The outer door opens into a small lobby, and a door on the left leads

into the front room, which is about 14 ft. by 9 ft., but is rather oddly shaped, a curved portion being taken from one corner by the staircase, and about 4 ft. square from another for the lobby. It is lighted by a small window, which looks on the gallery leading to the tenement. The walls are papered, and there is a small open fireplace. The living room (about 9 ft. by 14 ft.) is continuous with the lobby, and lighted by a large window. It contains a range with oven and boiler, a dresser and cupboard; Passing across this room, a scullery, about 6 ft. square, is reached, which contains a small range with oven and boiler, copper, dust-shoot, and, enclosed by a door and partition, the sink and water tap. Another inner door shuts off the closet from the scullery.

Three-roomed Tenements. These are usually self-contained, except those belonging to the Peabody Trustees and a few other owners, who object to this mode of construction. Rents have a wide range; the lowest being 4*s* 3*d* per week, and the highest about three times as much.

In * * * * * *Buildings* (Group II. Light, v. g.; sanitation, v. g.) a three-roomed tenement lets at 10*s* 3*d* per week. The door from the outer staircase opens into the living room, which is about 15 ft. by 12 ft. On the side of the room facing the outer door is the range with oven, and a door leading to the bedroom. Facing the fireplace is the dresser, a high cupboard, and the coal-bunker occupying the whole of this side, except that portion taken by the outer door. The room has a large window, and a door by the side leads to the scullery, which contains the sink, copper, and dust-shoot, and enclosed by a second door the closet. From the scullery a small open balcony is reached. The bedroom is about 10 ft. by 12 ft., and has a fireplace and high cupboard, and also a door leading to another small balcony. From the living room a door on the left opens into the parlour (12 ft. by 13 ft.), which has an open fireplace, and the window (large) is fitted with venetian blinds. All the rooms are papered and the woodwork is grained. The light is good and the rooms have a cheerful appearance.

All the tenements in * * * * * *Buildings* (Group I. Light, g.; sanitation, v. g.) are self-contained; some have bay windows

in front, where the light is good, the houses on the opposite side being small, but some tall warehouses have been built at the back, and the lower rooms are rendered dull. The three-roomed tenements in the basement are let at 9*s* a week. The outer door opens into a passage from which three doors lead to the parlour, bedroom, and kitchen respectively. The parlour is a large room with a bay window. It contains a register stove and a sideboard cupboard. The walls are papered and the woodwork grained. The bedroom adjoins this room; it is small, and the window looks on the back yard. The walls are papered and there is a small stove. The kitchen, a larger room, is lighted by a window looking upon the yard, and is fitted with a dresser and range with oven and boiler. Leading from this apartment is the scullery, which has a small stove and contains the copper and sink, and shut off by another door is the coal-bunker with a cupboard above, and enclosed by a second door is the closet.

Of the larger tenements, it suffices to say that they are very like those already described, with the addition of one or more bedrooms. They are, as a rule, well lighted, generally situate at the angles of the blocks, and are usually self-contained. The internal fittings may be better; the woodwork grained, and better paper on the walls; and in some there are finger plates on the doors. The lobbies will be larger; indeed, more of the nature of passages.

That improvements in construction and fitting should be made in these dwellings was to be expected, and the experience of the older Companies has been utilized by modern builders. These improvements may be grouped under three heads; viz. (1) better appearance; (2) better light; and (3) more and better internal fittings. In other respects, many of the buildings erected to-day are not equal to those built in the "fifties."

(1) In appearance the best modern buildings are a great advance on the older dwellings. A plain exterior was formerly deemed quite good enough for "models," but many of the modern blocks possess a high degree of

architectural merit. This is well seen by comparing Thanksgivings Buildings, near Gray's Inn Road, with some of the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company's Blocks, near Oxford Street, or with Marlborough Buildings, South Kensington, or even with such blocks as Waldeck Buildings, or Holsworthy Square.

(2) As regards light, the difference is most marked in the construction of the staircases. In the best of the older buildings (and it is useless to compare any but the best of the different epochs), while the rooms are well lighted, the staircases and passages are frequently dark. They appear to have been neglected for the sake of the tenements. This defect attaches in a minor degree to some of the earlier Peabody dwellings, in which the staircases have no direct light. In what is known as the "new" style this fault is corrected, and the stairs are lighted by a window. In other buildings light is obtained either by a large window, or what is becoming more general, the staircases are open to the air, protected by an iron railing. In many cases they are lined with white glazed bricks, which make them light even on dull days.

(3) It is in the internal fittings (and with these are included washhouses, baths, &c.), that the greatest advances have been made. In the older dwellings there is usually a deficiency of cupboard room; the rooms are seldom papered, and the tenements appear cheerless and bare. In the best of the modern buildings, however, there are plenty of cupboards; the walls are papered and the woodwork grained; windows are fitted with venetian blinds; dressers and other conveniences are provided, and it is the exception to find a room without a fireplace, a frequent occurrence in the three-roomed tenements of the older buildings.

The older buildings usually have a large washhouse with a number of coppers and washing trays, sometimes placed in cubicles, so that the washer has a slight degree of

privacy, but it is the exception. This arrangement is often a fruitful source of difficulties, especially in the poorer buildings. One woman will leave a copper dirty, and the next comer has to clean it before she can commence her work. Another and even more weighty objection is that of the better class woman to do her work in a semi-public laundry. She will not: she does not like to mix up with everybody. Even to listen to conversation often as coarse as it is loud, is an ordeal that a sensitive woman will not willingly undergo. So strong are these objections that a quite modern block built on this principle is only two-thirds full, although it provides good rooms, fairly lighted, at a rent lower than that current in the district, and has baths and washhouses provided with mangles, drying racks, wringers, and all modern appliances, in a separate building. Other buildings near this block are full, and but for this drawback, as people regard it, these tenements would probably be occupied. The general custom now is to make the dwellings self-contained, or to have a washhouse on each floor shared by, at most, four or five tenants.

Baths, when first introduced in the Peabody Buildings, were placed in the basements of the blocks. If hot water were wanted, it must be heated in the tenants' rooms and carried downstairs. This procedure evidently does not commend itself to the people: they prefer to pay twopence at the public baths, for which sum they get a hot bath and attendance without any trouble. Consequently most of the baths are unused, only one or two being kept open on each estate, and these are only used during the summer. More recently the Artizans', Labourers' and General Dwellings Company have improved on this arrangement. They place a bath in the washhouse on each floor for the joint use of four tenants on that landing. Water can be heated in the copper, and washing being done mostly by Wednesday, the bath is available at the end of the week. In the Brady

Street Buildings, opened in 1890, the baths occupy the lower floor of one block. Hot and cold water is supplied, a charge of one penny being made for hot and a halfpenny for cold baths, or a mother can bathe two children in hot water for one penny.

Of other accessories, space will only permit of slight mention. One block has a clubhouse with separate reading rooms for ladies and gentlemen, billiard and conversation rooms, while several blocks are provided with libraries, sometimes by the owners, in other cases by friends.

That block dwellings are likely to increase in proportion to other dwellings seems indisputable, especially where population is most crowded, and in view of this their influence on health and the comparative healthfulness of such buildings and of ordinary houses accommodating a similar class, are important points. Unfortunately the information necessary to decide these questions and place them beyond controversy is not available. Concerning the better blocks certain statistics are published, but for many of the buildings in Groups II. and III. no particulars can be obtained.*

It is certain that the dwellings classed "Bad" or "Very bad" as regards either light or sanitary accommodation, must be undesirable abodes, tending to shorten the lives of the occupants. That some of the landlords do not feel confidence in the proper condition of the buildings they let is shown by the following copy of a notice posted up beside the caretaker's door in one of these blocks.

"* * * * * Buildings. Notice to Tenants.

"Any contract or agreement for the letting of any part of * * * * * Buildings, shall be deemed not to contain or imply any condition on the part of ———, the landlords, that the premises let by said contract or agreement are at

* In an interesting paper read before the Royal Statistical Society in February, 1891, Dr. A. Newsholme deals very fully with this subject.

the commencement of the Tenancy in all respects reasonably fit for human habitation within the meaning of Section 12 of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1885, 48 and 49 Vic. c. 72, and every tenant shall be deemed to expressly waive such a condition.

"By Order, ———, *Secretary*."

The Section 12 quoted, says that in any contract "there shall be implied a condition that the house is at the commencement of the hiring in ALL respects reasonably fit for human habitation." If such a notice would enable the landlord legally to evade his responsibility, which it is to be hoped is not the case, it must be admitted, judging by the appearance of the building, that he does wisely to protect himself by posting it up.

The outcome of the great clearances made in various parts of London by the late Metropolitan Board of Works, shows clearly the tendency towards the erection of many storeyed blocks wherever old streets and courts are demolished on such a scale as to leave enough space to be laid out in this way; and from this or other causes it is to be noted that these dwellings are chiefly to be found in groups. With slight differences as between these groups, they accommodate on the whole a somewhat uniform class, but it is probable that this characteristic tends to become less marked as time goes on. It will be very well if this is so, at least in the upward direction, in order that the standard of excellence in the arrangement and fittings, and of orderly life amongst the occupants, may continue to rise. The advantages of a downward extension are less certain, or at least more difficult to secure. Good accommodation if supplied on ordinary business principles is too dear for those on or below the "line of poverty," and even the dwellings of the Peabody trustees, where the gross rental is but five per cent. on the capital invested, serve for the most part to accommodate those who are fairly well-off. The result is that with a few exceptions it may be said that

it is only in the worst blocks that the poor are accommodated, and the question, "How is this to be avoided?" has still to find an answer. The attempt of the Guinness Trustees in this direction will be watched with interest.

Many of the poor regard dwellings with an aversion which is not altogether to be wondered at. To some the rules and regulations are unendurable, and they prefer apartments in the most wretched tenement-house to living in buildings. As one woman standing at her street door said to me, "You can do as you like in a house, and have a yard to yourself, and that is more than you can in them blocks," pointing contemptuously to some buildings at the top of the street. The fact, which I happened to know, that twenty-two persons lived in that seven-roomed house, and that at least two costermongers' barrows and a pony were kept in the yard, did not seem to trouble her in the least. Put more pathetically, "they like their little home," and cannot readily find it in an apartment off the common stairway of a huge barrack. In spite of this very general dislike, and however well grounded the dislike may be, the poor may be forced by the exigencies of the rebuilding of London to accept block life in some districts, and if so there is great danger, unless active steps are taken to prevent it, that while the better-to-do occupy the best buildings the poor casual and irregular workers will be relegated to dark unsanitary dwellings, and when herded together there may be far worse placed than in their old homes. This subject is however treated more adequately by Miss Octavia Hill in the section that follows.

(2.) Influence on Character.

As has been said it is pretty clear that the working population of London is likely to be more and more housed in "blocks," and it is not very profitable to spend time in considering whether this is a fact to rejoice in or to deplore, except so far as the consideration may enable us to see how

far the advantages of the change may be increased, or the drawbacks diminished. The advantages of the change are very apparent and are apt to appear overwhelming, and the disadvantages are apt to be dismissed as either somewhat sentimental or inevitable.

The advantages may I think be briefly summed up under two heads. It is supposed that better sanitary arrangements are secured in blocks. It is also certain that all inspection and regulation are easier in blocks; and on inspection and regulation much of our modern legislation, much of our popular hope, is based.

With regard to the sanitary arrangements I think all who are at all conversant with the subject are beginning to be aware that they may be at least as faulty in blocks as in smaller buildings—but it is undoubtedly true that even where this is so the publicity of the block enables inspection to be carried out much more easily and so, theoretically at least, a certain standard can be better enforced. But this is not quite so true in actual practice as those who put their faith in enforcement of sanitary law are apt to imagine. Still it is true, and it is a very distinct advantage to be noted.

Your readers may be astonished that I do not put down the greater economy of the block system as a distinct gain, but I am not so wholly sure as many seem that it exists. For, first, room by room the block dwellings are not at all invariably cheaper than those in small houses. Moreover, I do not think we can permanently congratulate and pride ourselves upon, hardly that we can permit, a form of construction which admits so very little sunlight into lower floors, so that to the present cost of block buildings must, I should think, be fairly added in the future such diminution of height or such increase of yard space as would allow of the freer entrance of air and light. This would increase the ground rent payable on each room. I think also that the cheapness of building many storey buildings is exaggerated.

I have built very few blocks, but I have been consulted about some, and I have more than once proved in £ *s.* *d.* that cutting off a storey from the block as shown in the plans was a very small net loss, when cost of building, saving on rates, repairs, &c., and possibly even diminution in wall thickness justified by the lower elevation, were taken into account. We must also remember the increase of rent gladly paid by the sober and home-loving working man for ground floor rooms, lighter and pleasanter than if over-shadowed by higher blocks. I do not wish to generalise, the matter is one of £. *s.* *d.*, but I say that the figures are well worth careful study on each building scheme, and that so far as the model dwellings are concerned I think their undue height in proportion to width of yard has sometimes been due to the mistaken zeal for accommodating numbers of families. I say mistaken, for with our increased means of cheap transit we should try to scatter rather than to concentrate our population, especially if the concentration has to be secured by dark lower rooms.

With regard to the disadvantages of blocks I think they may be divided into those which may be looked upon by those of us who are hopeful as probably transitory, and those which seem, so far as we can see, quite essential to the block system. The transitory ones are by far the most serious. They are those which depend on the enormously increased evil which grows up in a huge community of those who are undisciplined and untrained. They disappear with civilization, they are so far as I know entirely absent in large groups of blocks where the tenants are the quiet, respectable, working-class families, who, to use a phrase common in London, "keep themselves to themselves," and whose well-ordered quiet little homes, behind their neat little doors with bright knockers, nicely supplied with well-chosen appliances, now begin to form groups where responsible respectable citizens live in cleanliness and order. What this life will be

in the future will greatly affect London. Under rules they grow to think natural and reasonable, inspected and disciplined, every inhabitant registered and known, school board laws, sanitary laws, and laws of the landlord or company regularly enforced; every infectious case of illness instantly removed, all disinfecting done at public cost, it is a life of law, regular, a little monotonous, and not developing any great individuality, but consistent with happy home-life, and it promises to be the life of the respectable London working-man.

On the other hand, what life in blocks is to the less self-controlled hardly any words of mine are strong enough to describe, and it is abhorred accordingly by the tidy and striving wherever any—even a small—number of the undisciplined are admitted to blocks, or where—being admitted—there is not real living rule exercised. Regulations are of *no* avail, no public inspection can possibly for more than an hour or two secure order, no resident superintendent has at once conscience, nerve, and devotion, single-handed to stem the violence, the dirt, the noise, the quarrels; no body of public opinion on the part of the tenants themselves asserts itself, one by one disheartened the tidier ones depart, the rampant remain and prevail, and *often with a very fair show to the outsider* the block becomes a sort of pandemonium. No one who is not in and out day by day, or better still night after night, no one who does not watch the swift degradation of children belonging to tidy families, no one who does not know the terrorism exercised by the rough over the timid and industrious poor, no one who does not know the abuse of every appliance provided by the benevolent or speculative, but non-resident, landlord, can tell what life in blocks is where the population is low-class. Sinks and drains are stopped; yards provided for exercise must be closed because of misbehaviour; boys bathe in drinking water cisterns; wash-houses on staircases —or staircases themselves—become the nightly haunt of the

vicious, the Sunday gambling places of boys; the yell of the drunkard echoes through the hollow passages; the stairs are blocked by dirty children—and the life of any decent hard-working family becomes intolerable.

The very same evils are nothing like as injurious where the families are more separate, so that while in smaller houses one can often try difficult tenants with real hope of their doing better, it is wholly impossible usually to try, or to train them, in blocks. The temptations are greater, the evils of relapse far greater. It is like taking a bad girl into a school.

Hence the enormous importance of keeping a large number of small houses *wherever it be possible* for the better training of the rowdy, and the protection of the quiet and gentle, and I would implore well-meaning landlords to pause before they clear away small houses and erect blocks with any idea of benefitting the poorer class of people. The change may be inevitable, it may have to come, but as they value the life of our poorer fellow-citizens, let them pause before they throw them into a corporate life for which they are *not* ready, and which will, so far as I can see, not train them to be ready for it. Let them either ask tidy working people they know, or learn for themselves, whether I am not right in saying that in the shabbiest little two-, four-, six-, or eight-roomed house, with all the water to carry upstairs, with one little w.c. in a tiny back yard, with perhaps one dust-bin at the end of the court, and even perhaps with a dark little twisted staircase, there are not far happier, better, yes and *healthier* homes than in the blocks where lower-class people share and do *not* keep in order far better appliances.

And let them look the deeper into this in so far as our reformers who trust to inspection for all education, our would-be philanthropists or newspaper correspondents, who visit once a court or block, and think they have *seen* it, even our painstaking statisticians who catalogue what can be

catalogued, are unable to deal with these facts. Those who know the life of the poor, know,—those who watch the effect of letting to a given family a set of rooms in a block in a rough neighbourhood, or rooms in a small house in the same districts, know,—those who remember how numerous are the kinds of people to whom they must refuse rooms in a block for their own sake, or that of others, know. To the noisy drunkard one must say, "For the quiet people's sake, No"; to the weak drunkard one must say, "You would get led away, No"; to the young widow with children one must say, "Would you not be better in a small house where the resident landlady would see a little to the children"? thinking in one's heart also, "and to you"; to the orphaned factory girl who would "like to keep mother's home together," one feels a less public life safer; for the quiet family who care to bring up their children well, one fears the bad language and gambling on the stairs. For the strong and self-contained and self-reliant it may be all right, but the instinct of the others who cling on to the smaller houses is right for them.

For after all the "home," the "life" does not depend on the number of appliances, or even in any deep sense on the sanitary arrangements. I heard a working-man say once, with some coarseness but with much truth, "Gentlemen think if they put a water-closet to every room they have made a home of it," and the remark often recurs to me for the element of truth there is in it, and there is more decency in many a tiny little cottage in Southwark, shabby as it may be,—more family life in many a one room let to a family, than in many a populous block. And this is due to two causes, partly the comparative peace of the more separate home; it seems as if a certain amount of quiet and even of isolation made family-life and neighbourly kindness more possible. People become brutal in large numbers who are gentle when they are in smaller groups and know

one another, and the life in a block only becomes possible when there is a deliberate isolation of the family, and a sense of duty with respect to all that is in common. The low-class people herd on the staircases and corrupt one another, where those a little higher would withdraw into their little sanctum. But in their own little house, or as lodgers in a small house, the lower class people get the individual feeling and notice which often trains them in humanity.

What the future will be for these wilder people I often wonder. It may be that some landlords will be wise enough to keep small houses standing for a time till the undisciplined are more trained; it may be that the gradual progress of educational and other influences may permeate their ranks and mould them morally as well as educationally (but of this I am not hopeful if they are herded together in blocks); it may be that some form of self-government, some committee of the tenants, may be arranged to organize and bring to bear the standard and rule of the better men and women (but it is difficult to think such an organization would be possible just where it is most needed, *i.e.* in the lower-class blocks); it may be that more and more of such ladies as are helping me will be trained and enrolled by the directors or owners, and form a link between the tidy tenants and those who have control, a cheer and support to lonely resident caretakers, and a permeating influence for right and purity through the blocks.

Whatever be the way out of the difficulty, let us hope that it may come before great evil is done by the massing together of herds of untrained people, and by the ghastly abuse of staircases open all night, but not under police inspection, not easily inspected even if nominally so placed. The problem is one we ought all, so far as in us lies, to lay to heart, and do what we can to solve.

I have not dwelt here on what may be called the "sentimental" objection to blocks, the purity of family life being recognised, even by those who trust most to inspection,

as a necessity. But there is a sentimental objection which is felt by many to blocks. It is not confined to blocks for working people, though as their town home is their only home it affects them most. It arises, I think, mainly from two causes, the extreme difficulty, not to say impossibility, of giving to a block home that stamp of individuality which most other homes take from the life of the family that dwells in it, and the power of developing the individual life. The creepers in the back yard, the rabbits the boys feed, the canary the sickly child listens to, the shed for the man's tools, the washing arrangements, or the arbour, are all arranged to suit individual tastes, and for all these the separate house, or the small house, gives scope. In the block even the perambulator may be a difficulty, pets are impossible, even the nail for the funeral card or photograph of the son in Egypt, must be put, if at all, on the picture rail. The dweller in towns, however, must sacrifice much for the privileges he obtains, and he must accept the law of considering his neighbour rather by sacrifice of his individual joy, than by development of individual varied capacity. One feels the men thus trained may be meek, well-ordered, but will not be original nor all-round trained men. One can only note the danger and watch for any way of obviating it in some degree. The first sentimental objection to the block life is the small scope it gives for individual freedom. The second is its painful ugliness and uninterestingness in external look which is nearly connected with the first. For difference is at least interesting and amusing, monotony never. Let us hope that when we have secured our drainage, our cubic space of air, our water on every floor, we may have time to live in our homes, to think how to make them pretty, each in our own way, and to let the individual characteristics they take from our life in them be all good as well as healthy and beautiful, because all human work and life were surely meant to be like all Divine creations, lovely as well as good.

(3.) Sketch of Life in Buildings.

Life in "Buildings," we may say, depends more on the class of inhabitants than on structural arrangements. It is curious, on the principle of "like to like," how quickly a Building forms for itself a certain character—Jews' Buildings, rowdy Buildings, genteel Buildings, &c., all being estimated as such by public opinion. And public criticism, it may be added, resting on strong prejudices, may be trusted to define sharply and to perpetuate the distinctions between the tenants of different Buildings. Racial prejudices keep the Christians apart from the Jews, and a taste for cleanliness or for quietness determines folk who can afford to indulge it to spend a little more on rent for the sake of mixing with those who are "particular," and who "keep themselves to themselves."

T. Buildings, where I lived for a year, is a pretty red brick building, with five storeys of tenements, two sides of a square, and enclosing a good-sized asphalted court. My dwelling consisted of two tiny rooms, about 9 ft. square, opening into one another. The front door, with its separate number and knocker, opens out of the front room into a common open balcony; and the back door out of the back room into a tiny private balcony, about a yard or so square, leading to the sink, &c. These little balconies are often turned to good account with flower boxes and hanging baskets, and one woman had rigged up a pigeon-house, and kept pigeons very successfully there. Each tenement is complete in itself, except for the want of a tap; to fetch water the tenants have to take their buckets to a common tap on each balcony. Though so small, the rooms are fresh and very clean, brightly coloured and painted once every year. The asphalted court provides a large and safe playground for the children, and the flat roof is utilized for washhouses and a drying ground. Each tenant is bound in turn to clean and whiten a part of the balcony and stairs,

and each in turn on her fixed day enjoys the use of a wash-house and the roof to dry her clothes. These common rights and duties lead, of course, to endless contention. (I may quote the remark of a neighbour on the ferocity of the combatants in a washing-day dispute: "Why, they'd tear you to pieces; bull-dogs I call 'em.") In the summer, T. Buildings was very pretty, with its red bricks and white stairs and balconies and flowers in most of the windows.

S. Buildings, in which I also lived for nearly a year, was on a much larger scale, and the rents were higher. The tenants were of the most varied description. The Buildings were in the form of a quadrangle, enclosing a very large asphalted square; a few miserable shrubs flourished, or rather decayed, in the centre. The various tenements opened on steep ill-lighted staircases and dark narrow corridors; the rooms inside were a great improvement on those in T. Buildings, large and well-fitted with every convenience; but in spite of advantages in this respect, S. Buildings could not compare with my former quarters. I am convinced that nothing is of more importance to the inhabitants of towns than light and colour; T. Buildings is built to admit as much air and sunshine as possible; S. Buildings to exclude them; and I think the great difference I noticed in the cheerfulness and temper of the children must have been largely due to this cause.

The very large number of tenements (200 to 300) destroyed the feeling of neighbourly responsibility and interest which was strong in T. Buildings; and the narrow resounding passages and stairs made domestic disputes and crying children more disagreeably prominent.

The character of a Building is also largely influenced by the character of the caretaker in charge, and in this respect S. Buildings was unlucky. If indifferent order is kept, and the few regulations are not enforced, the convenience of the majority has to give way to the small element in every

community who are entitled to the name of public nuisances.

A short sketch of an average day in T. Buildings will give some idea of the way of life.

At 5 o'clock in the morning I hear the tenant overhead, Mr. A., getting up for his day's work. His wife, who does a little dressmaking when she can get it from her neighbours, was up late last night (I heard her sewing-machine going till 1 o'clock), so he does not disturb her. He is a carman at the Goods Depôt of a Railway Company, and has to be there at 6 o'clock, so he is not long getting his breakfast of tea and bread and butter. But before he has done, I hear a child cry; then the sound of a sleepy voice, Mrs. A., recommending a sip of tea and a crust for the baby. The man, I suppose, carries out the order, for the crying ceases, and I hear his steps as he goes downstairs. At eight o'clock there is a good deal of scraping and raking on the other side of the wall. This means that my neighbour, Mrs. B., an old woman partly supported by her dead husband's savings, partly by the earnings of two grown-up daughters, is raking out and cleaning her stove. Then the door is opened, the dust is thrown down the dust-shoot, and a conversation is very audibly carried on by two female voices. Among other topics, is the favourite one of Mrs. A.'s laziness in the morning—though Mrs. B. knows perfectly well that Mrs. A. has been up late at work, having indeed repeatedly complained of the noise of the sewing-machine at night, and though Mrs. C. openly avows that she will not say anything against Mrs. A., as she has always been very nice to her.

At half-past eight I hear the eldest child of the A. family lighting the fire and dressing her two little brothers for school. With the departure of the children there is a lull. At ten Mrs. A. gets up, and at eleven she sallies out to make sundry purchases. Before she goes, however, Mrs.

A. has a brisk gossip on her threshold with Mrs. C., the tram-conductor's wife, who has looked in to return the head of a loaf borrowed on the previous Sunday night. In the dialogue, which lasts more than five minutes, I hear Mrs. B.'s name repeated a good many times, and catch also the phrase "spiteful old cat," and I believe that Mrs. B.'s remarks at 8 o'clock are being now repeated with Mrs. C.'s artistic variations.

Soon after twelve there is a great hubbub of children's laughter and shrieking in the courtyard under my window. The children have returned from school and they seem to have a good deal of fun together till we begin to hear the mothers calling them in to dinner.

In the afternoon a certain torpor falls upon the Buildings, only broken by the jingling cans and cat-calls of the afternoon milk-boys. But this is the favourite time for the women to call upon one another, and I can catch various fragments of conversation relating to the bad turn Mrs. D.'s illness is taking, to the uncalled-for visit of the curate to a lady who dislikes curates, to the shocking temper of little Maggie (Mrs. C.'s child), who is reported to be the tease and torment of all the children in the place. Looking out of window I do not see the unhappy Maggie, but find myself watching instead a spirited game of cricket between four girls on one side and three boys on the other. The wickets are chalked up against the wall and a soft ball is used. The game, however, collapses, for the boys, who are smaller than their opponents, refuse to go on, saying "it isn't fair," and the girls retire triumphant, but disgusted.

At 6 o'clock a row in the street calls a crowd of the inhabitants out on to the balconies, where we can look down exactly as from boxes in a theatre on to the stage. The parties to the quarrel are a man and his wife in a distinctly lower walk of life (like all the inhabitants of houses in the street) than any of the tenants of the Buildings. They are eventually separated after much "old English" on both

sides. The general impression among the spectators is in favour of the man, but the incident is soon forgotten.

Very soon after, various savoury smells begin to float out on to the landings. The favourite meal of the day, the "tea," is being prepared against the husband's return. All is comparative peace and harmony, the children's hands are washed, the room is tidied, and the cloth laid. The A.'s have sprats, as I have good reason to know. Mrs. A. is aware of my partiality for this fish, and in a neighbourly spirit sends me in a plateful by her most careful child, from whom I learn that Mrs. D. is much worse and wandering in her head, and that "mother is going to sit up with her." Mrs. D.'s husband is a night watchman, so he is at hand by day to look after her, and the neighbours are taking turns to nurse her at night.

In the evening some of the men go out to the neighbouring "Club" and sing songs or talk politics, one or two drop into the bar of the favourite "pub," but the majority simply stay at home with the wife and children. Mr. A., the carman, is essentially a family man, and he makes a point of going through some gymnastic tricks with his boys and putting them to bed. Occasionally he receives a visit from a mate, but this is rare; and generally he retires not later than 9.30. Mr. C., the tram-conductor, has a liking for the *Star*, and reads aloud striking passages after tea.

A not unfrequent incident in S. Buildings about midnight or later would not have been tolerated in T. Buildings. A man there on several occasions went to bed and locked out his wife, who returned home doubtfully sober. To her repeated knocks and entreaties, he maintained a sullen silence; then exasperated she thumped and kicked at the door, screaming, and rejoiced when a sarcasm at last evoked a reply. The whole side of the Building must have been awakened, but nobody made the least sign; it was not etiquette. In T. Buildings the quarrelling was more decent; such disturbances would lead to general complaints of the offenders, and they would soon be expelled.

The advantages of living in Buildings in my opinion far outweigh the drawbacks. Cheapness, a higher standard of cleanliness, healthy sanitary arrangements, neighbourly intercourse both between children and between the grown-up people, and, perhaps above all, the impossibility of being overlooked altogether, or flagrantly neglected by relatives in illness or old age, seem to be the great gains; and the chief disadvantage, the absence of privacy and the increased facility for gossip and quarrelling, though it may sometimes be disagreeably felt, introduces a constant variety of petty interest and personal feeling into the monotony of daily life.

(4.) Sample Blocks.

Examples follow of blocks of each colour on the map (from dark blue to pink) with information as to their inhabitants obtained from the clergy or from rent collectors.

DARK BLUE.

Ginger Street Buildings (Group II.—Light, fair; sanitation, bad).

There are three blocks of these dwellings all similar in construction. In each there are four floors, viz. ground floor and three above. The roof is flat and reached by a staircase. It is intended for use as a drying ground. On each floor there are seven tenements, six of which contain two rooms each, and the other is a one-room tenement. The staircases are very dark and steep; the water supply is intermittent owing to defective fittings; altogether the dwellings are very undesirable habitations, but they are the property of a professedly philanthropic company whose object it is to provide suitable workmen's dwellings. Their buildings in other parts of London are of similar character.

First block. Lower floor.—Tenement No. 1 is occupied by Williams, a labourer, who is laid up with rheumatism. He has

a wife and four young children, three of whom are at school and all are sickly. These people are very poor. In No. 2 lives Paxey, a tailor, helped by his wife, who is also caretaker of the block. They have their rooms rent free. There are six children, three at work and three at school. Are comfortably off. No. 3, a single room, is occupied by a young couple who have but just come. Seem respectable and comfortable. No. 4 is empty. In No. 5 there is Sweeny, a labourer, with wife and four children. Poor, but not very poor: don't want charity. No. 6 is occupied by Rowe, who is ill and out of work. His wife also does no work. They have no children but are in great distress. Would have preferred a one-roomed tenement, but none were to be had. No. 7 is the washhouse.

Passing to the *first floor* we find No. 8 empty, the occupant having lately left. At No. 9 is Byrne, a labourer, in good work, with his big boy at work and four younger children at school. His wife does no regular work. This family are comfortably off. At No. 10 is Ormond, another labourer, with wife and four children. Poor, but not of the poorest. In No. 11 lives Towers, a waterside labourer, who used to do better work and does not do well at this; his wife does fur pulling, but has been very ill. Went hopping and she took cold, and has been ill ever since. One boy is at work and three children at school. A big girl is kept at home to mind the little ones. Deserving, sober people. Very poor indeed. No. 12 is empty. In No. 13 lives North, a labourer, doing very little, with wife and one sick child. Extremely poor. No. 14 is occupied by Haresfoot, another labourer, doing little. His wife makes hassocks. A big girl helps her mother, and there are two children at school. The man is very deaf and drinks a great deal. The wife went hopping and took all the children with her. While she was away the man was drinking, and let the rent run on, so she had the back rent to pay when she came home.

On the *second floor*, No. 15, lives an old man who makes toys and such things out of bits of wood, working at home. A friend lives and works with him, and has a daughter of fourteen. These people are not communicative, but have every appearance of great poverty. No. 16 is empty. In No. 17, lives Sutton, a labourer, with pretty regular work, but he drinks and so they

are poor. His wife does fur pulling, the eldest girl helps her mother, three other children are at school. No. 18 is occupied by O'Neal, a labourer, whose wife does machining at home. Comfortable and steady young people. Three children at school. In No. 19 lives Blade, a labourer, earning fair wages, but the woman is a bad manager. There are four children, two at work, one at school, and a baby. Not much comfort, but pay their way when the man is at work. The wife does not work. In No. 20, is Ralton, another labourer, whose wife works out. They have one boy at school, and just get along when the man is in work.

On the *third floor* at No. 22 lives Dempsey, a labourer, whose wife also goes out to work, but not regularly—sometimes a few days in a week. They have a big boy at work, four children at school, and an infant. Get along fairly well. No. 23 is empty, was occupied by O'Neal, who is now at No. 18. In No. 24 (one room) live a man, wife, and three children. He is a porter, but very delicate and consumptive, and has been in the infirmary. His wife meanwhile had out relief. There are three young children. The room is clean, but with hardly a stick in it. These people have been better off. At No. 25 live Mr. and Mrs. Connolly, an old couple, neither of whom work. They are not very poor, and probably have grown-up children who look after them. No. 26 is empty. No. 27 is occupied by Davis, a man out of work. His wife is a well-educated woman, but much degraded by drink. There are two grown-up sons at work, and two children at school. The men dare not give the woman any money, and are afraid to leave anything in the place lest she should pawn it while they are out. In No. 28 lives Packington, a waterside labourer, with wife, one boy at work, and four children at school. The children have no boots, but they have food. The man worked at Liverpool during the strikes, and when he returned was outlawed and could get no work here. He then took to picture-frame making. Can turn to anything, and gets along.

In the second block, at No. 1, lives Morris, a casual labourer, whose wife does embroidery, and can earn a good bit at times, perhaps about 10*s* a week, but they have very little furniture and are very poor. There are four or five children.

LIGHT BLUE.

Connaught Buildings (Group I.—Light, fair; sanitation good).

These buildings present one end to the main thoroughfare, and their back, or front, whichever it may best be called, looks upon an open flagged footway; not wide enough for vehicles. In the centre of this frontage is the only entrance, through a door of little more than ordinary size giving access to a passage which running through and under the building leads to an open courtyard, common to all the inhabitants, but in effect quite private from the rest of the world. In the centre of the frontage towards the court, close beside the entrance passage, a single flight of stairs leads to the upper storeys. The stairs are pretty good and the landings roomy, and from each a balcony extends right and left the whole extent of the building. On to these balconies the tenements open.

No. 1 is occupied by an old man who gets his living as a hawker, taking his stand near the Bank of England. In No. 2 his son lives with wife and two young children. He also is a City hawker, selling studs, pencils, &c., in Lombard Street. His wife helps by charing and washing. At No. 3 is a painter with wife and five children. A soft simple sort of fellow, generally out of work. The family have a very hard time of it. In No. 4 lives a woman of some property, without family. She was for many years a prostitute, and finally married an old man who has since died leaving her his money. With it she purchased a house in her old haunts, near Drury Lane, and lets it in furnished rooms to girls. No. 5 is occupied by the caretaker of the buildings. His wife sells cresses. No. 6 to 10 are empty. In No. 11 lives a man working at wall-paper trimming. Not able to do very much work. Wife goes out office cleaning. One boy goes out with a van. No. 12 is occupied

by Oliver, a labourer, and his wife, both Roman Catholics. At No. 13 is Mrs. Gregory, a widow, who earns her living by selling laces, ribbons, &c., down areas. No. 14 is occupied by Cutter, a gardener's labourer, working in one of the parks. No. 15 by Martin, a Roman Catholic, a night watchman. At No. 16 is Hitchcock, a labourer, whose wife does nothing but drink. No. 17 is occupied by the Cranburns. All the family work at home, making paper flowers, whips, &c., which they sell at school treats, &c. In No. 18 is Mrs. Hill, a widow who goes out nursing but is helped by charity. At No. 19 lives Mrs. Stapleton, a Roman Catholic widow, who is practically supported by charity; and at No. 20 Mrs. Stanford, another widow, also helped by charity. No. 21 is the home of a blind beggar. No. 22 is occupied by a knife grinder, who has his regular beat. His wife sells flowers, and they have seven children, all young—a very decent family. At No. 23 lives Emson, a man who goes out regularly to work. At No. 24 there is Beaton a one-legged man, a night-watchman by trade but going out sometimes with a piano organ. In No. 25 lives a deserted woman, whose husband could not live with her on account of her drinking, quarrelsome habits. She works at a clothing factory. No. 26 is occupied by Granger a sober, decent married man, doing responsible work. At No. 27 is Antonelli, an Italian often out of work. His wife is English, and employed in office cleaning. At No. 28 is Mrs. Purkis, a widow with her daughter—Roman Catholics, receiving help from the priests. At No. 29 is a widow woman living alone. At No. 30 Turner, a labourer with a large family—Roman Catholics. Bradley and his wife live at No. 31. Both keep coffee stalls, going out very early every morning. Manage to live pretty comfortably. Mrs. Mullins, a widow, lives at No. 32; she keeps a little shop on the ground floor. Sells groceries, candles, &c., to the people in the Buildings. At No. 33 Bangle, a labourer, his wife and six children live. He is always out of work; supported by his wife, who has evening employment cleaning offices in the City. The two eldest boys work on Pickford's vans and another sells evening papers. At No. 34 is McDonald, an army accoutrement maker, his wife and several children. The whole family used to work together at home, the younger ones doing the lighter part of the

work. This has been stopped by a recent Act of Parliament, and all the work has to be done at the factory. No. 35 is occupied by Mrs. Prince, a widow with two children. Her husband drank himself to death. She supports the children by charing. At No. 36 is Mr. Lupind, a cobbler, and his wife. She does office cleaning. At No. 37 is Flood, a law writer; good workman, but drinks heavily. His wife sells flowers in the street: does very well at it, being helped by her brother. No. 38 is occupied by Balby, a shoemaker; was engaged to teach shoemaking to the boys at the Ragged School. At No. 39, Tonner, a labourer—Roman Catholic. No. 40 is occupied by Pannier, a labourer, wife and two young children. At No. 41 is O'Grady, a porter at the Co-operative Stores. At No. 42 is Gathercole, a widow, who makes her living by street singing; has a boy, who runs errands. No. 43 is occupied by Mrs. Black, a widow; has a small pension from a charity. Another widow, Mrs. Doughty, lives at No. 44; works at a clothing factory and has parish relief occasionally. At No. 45 is Bead, a paralysed man, wife and two children of his own, and wife has two nurse children. No. 46 is occupied by Chambers, a market porter. At No. 47 is Baldry; used to be a carman, but has injured his leg: wife supports him and two children by washing. Mrs. Collard, a widow with three young children, lives at No. 48; does cooking or charing; very decent woman. Her mother lives at No. 49; has a small pension from a charity and gets parish relief occasionally. No. 50 is occupied by Miss Colbert goes out charing—Roman Catholic. At No. 51, Mrs. Wilkins, a widow, lives; has grown up children, who are very respectable and help keep her. No. 52 is empty. In No. 53, Mulligan, a labourer, lives—Roman Catholic. Next door, No. 54, is another Roman Catholic family; drink a great deal. At No. 55 is Mrs. Blakey, a widow with three children. Is out all day charing and office cleaning. Maldred, a labourer, lives at No. 56 with his wife and several children. At No. 57 is a widow and her grown-up son, who supports her. They are Roman Catholics. No. 58 is occupied by Caldry, a labourer out of work; has wife and six children. Eldest girl goes to work. Lorwell, a bootmaker, wife and one child, lives at No. 59. Man does repairing. Decent family.

Chatham Dwellings (Group I.—Light, good; sanitation, good).

Situate in a confined court, access to these dwellings is gained by a passage through the block, opening into a yard at the back. The staircase is wide and leads to open balconies on each of the three upper floors. On each balcony there is a sink and water tap, and on intermediate landings the closets, on for each tenement. The light is good, as, although the back yard is narrow, it adjoins the playground of a neighbouring school. The dwellings are well superintended and kept very clean and neat. Nearly all the tenements are single roomed; rents varying from 3*s* to 4*s*.

No.	Floor.	Rms.	Pers.	Class.		
1	ground	1	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 young children.	Bricklayer, casual work. Wife is a scrubber at an hospital; earns 10*s*.
2	„	1	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Bricklayer, very casual. Girl and boy at work, and girl at school.
3	„	1	1	(C)	Widow.	Has a mangle. Daughter just gone to service.
4	„	1	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 young children.	Brushmaker, wife helps. Comfortable.
5	„	1	3	(D)	Widow and 2 children.	Woman has a small allowance. Big boy loafs about, and other child goes to school.
6	„	1	4	(C)	Widower, 2 children, and wife's mother.	Drover. Earns good money when at work, but has a bad leg. Woman makes slippers.
7	„	1	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Casual market porter. Wife makes slippers. Two children go to school.
8	„	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Cowman, regular work. Children under five.
9	first	1	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Engine driver, regular work, 28*s*.
10	„	1	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Cabinet-maker, irregular. Two children go to school.
11	„	1	4	(C)	Man, wife, daughter and child.	Tailor. Wife goes out nursing. Daughter a machinist. Very poor in winter.
12	„	1	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Tailor. Child at school and a baby.
13		1	3	(C)	Two widows and a child.	Mother and daughter. Both do crochet work.

PURPLE.

Lydon Square (Group I.—Light, very good ; sanitation, good).

These buildings consist of four large blocks, built on the four sides of a quadrangle, enclosing a large asphalted yard, which is used as a playground. Each block has six floors, the upper being almost entirely taken by the washhouses and drying ground belonging to the tenements below. A staircase in the middle of each block leads to a long passage on each floor into which the tenement doors open. At each end of these passages the water supply and other sanitary accommodation is placed. Rents are low, ranging from 2*s* for one room to 4*s* 6*d* for three rooms.

No.	Floor.	Rms.	Pers.	Class.		
1	ground	3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Labourer; regular, 24*s*. Son (18) at work; two children under five years.
2	„	2	3	(D)	Man, wife, and daughter.	Man, a labourer, is infirm. Wife and daughter support him by tailoring.
3	„	2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Porter at perfumers. Regular, 23*s*. Children are young.
4	„	1	1	(E)	Single man.	Porter; regular, 27*s*.
5	„	1	2	(D)	Two sisters.	Support themselves by needlework.
6	„	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Labourer, regular; wife does needlework.
7	„	2	3	(D)	Widow and 2 children.	Tailoress, when in good work earns 18*s*. Children go to school.
8	„	2	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Regular labourer; wife a tailoress.
9	„	3	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Blacksmith; regular, 30*s*. Three children under thirteen years.
10	„	3	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Waterman, regular. Boy (16) in a shop, 8*s*. Others under thirteen years.
11	„	2	3	(E)	Man, wife, and child.	Blacksmith, regular. Child under five years.
12	„	2	3	(E)	Man, wife, and daughter.	Labourer, regular. Daughter at biscuit works.
13	„	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Porter at Post-office. Children at school.

No.	Floor.	Rms.	Pers.	Class.		
14	ground	2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Labourer, regular. Children under seven years.
15	„	1	2	(C)	Widower and son.	Casual labourer. Son also a labourer.
16	„	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Policeman. Children under ten years.
17	„	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Seaman. One child goes to school.
18	„	2	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Seaman. Two children go to school. Others too young.
19	„	3	4	(F)	Man, wife, and 2 sons.	Waterman. One son a coachbuilder; other at iron foundry.
20	„	3	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Man works on a steam dredger. Two boys are at oil shops. One goes to school.
21	„	2	5	(F)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Brass finisher, regular. Children under seven years.
22	„	2	2	(E)	Widower and daughter.	Seaman. Daughter a tailoress.
23	„	2	1	(E)	Man.	Army pensioner, and drill instructor at schools.
24	„	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Stevedore, regular. Wife does cleaning. Children go to school.
25	„	1	1	(E)	Single man.	Cooper, regular.
26	„	1	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Engine driver; about 28*s*.
27	„	2	2	(D)	Widow and daughter.	Both do needlework.
28	„	3	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Bricklayer. Wife does washing. Three children at school and two infants.
29	„	3	4	(D)	Widower, son, and 2 daughters.	Casual labourer. Son ropemaker; daughters are tailoresses.
30	„	2	3	(D)	Widow, son, and grandson.	Widow chars. Son (25) is a clerk. Woman at No. 37 minds the child.
31	„	2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Printer; not much work. Children under five years,
32	„	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Waterman, regular work.
33	„	2	2	(D)	Man and wife.	Labourer. Wife works when she can.
34	„	1	2	(D)	Man and wife.	Labourer. Wife chars.
35	„	2	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Labourer Wife a tailoress. Girl at school; other child too young.
36	„	2	2	(C)	Widower and daughter.	Tailor, eighty years old. Daughter, a tailoress, supports.

Ferndale Buildings (Group I.—Light, fair; sanitation, bad).

A large five-storeyed block, fronting on a narrow and closely built street. The entrance is by an archway at each end of the block opening into an asphalted yard at the back. The upper tenements are reached by balconies on each floor, extending along the back of the building. The water supply and closets are placed on the landings of the staircases. Washhouses are in the yard, which serves the double purpose of a drying yard and playground. Most of the tenements are single rooms, let at rents varying from 2*s* to 3*s* 6*d*. Two-roomed dwellings let at 5*s* 6*d* to 6*s* 6*d*, and three rooms at 8*s* 6*d*.

No.	Floor.	Rms.	Pers.	Class.		
1	ground	1	3	(D)	Man, wife, and young child.	Street sweeper; regular 20*s*.
2	„	3	7	(F)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Carpenter; regular. Wife has mangle. Son (20) is an engraver; girl (17) at work; boy (14) runs errands.
3	„	1	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Carman, 20*s*. Wife cleans offices. Boy works with van.
4	„	1	5	(D)	Man, wife, son, and 2 young children.	Old soldier; has pension, £6 a year. Wife nurses occasionally. Son (23) a carman.
5	„	1	1	(D)	Telegraph boy.	Earns 8*s*. Lives alone. Mother a housekeeper.
6	„	1	1	(B)	Widow.	Has a pension, £6 a year. Cannot work. Is helped.
7	„	1	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Bricklayer. Out of work in the winter.
8	„	1	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Paper presser; regular. Comfortable.
9	„	1	3	(E)	Man, wife, and young child.	Seaman. Sends money to wife when away.
10	„	1	1	(C)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Casual labourer. Loafs about when wool sales are not on.
11	„	1	1	(B)	Old woman.	Widow, does odd jobs; mainly supported by charity.
12	„	1	—	—		Empty.
13	„	1	2	(C)	Old couple.	Man buys at sales and resells. Was a sailor. Seems poor.
14	„	1	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Stevedore, in regular work; over £2 a week. Wife drinks.

No.	Floor.	Rms.	Pers.	Class.		
15	ground	1	3	(C)	Man, wife, and son.	Both do any odd jobs they can get. Boy works at cork cutter's.
16	,,	2	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Stevedore. Wife drinks. Two girls earn 5*s* a week each.
17	,,	1	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Messenger. One-armed man. Wife gets charity.
18	,,	1	2	(D)	Widow and son.	Son, a carman, earns 18*s*; mother makes sacks.
19	,,	2	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Watchman, 20*s*; makes a little besides. One situation for 30 years.
20	,,	1	3	(E)	Man, wife, and infant.	Tailor. Wife helps. Earns 24*s* to 30*s*.
21	first	1	—	—	—	Empty.
22	,,	1	2	(B)	Man and wife.	Tailor; out of work. Helped by friends.
23	,,	1	1	(B)	Widow.	Needlework. Helped by friends. Very poor.
24	,,	1	3	(D)	Man, wife, and child.	Labourer. Regular, £1. Wife chars occasionally.
25	,,	1	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Ironworker. Improvident and very poor.
26	,,	1	—	—	—	Empty.
27	,,	2	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Watchman. Son (18) at work; girl at home; two children at school.
28	,,	2	—	—	—	Empty.
29	,,	2	3	(D)	Man, wife, and child.	Carman, £1 a week.
30	,,	1	—	—	—	Empty.
31	,,	1	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 young children.	Porter; regular. Earns 20*s*.
32	,,	2	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Tailor; good work; comfortable.
33	,,	1	3	(D)	Man, wife, and infant.	Packing-case maker; earns about 20*s*.
34	,,	1	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Casual labourer. Very poor.
35	second	1	3	(C)	Man, wife, and young child.	Steamboat porter; irregular. Wife makes umbrella tassels.
36	,,	2	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Market porter. Poor.
37	,,	2	7	(C)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	General labourer; seldom works. Wife covers umbrellas and girl helps. Another girl makes fancy boxes; boy in post-office, 8*s*.
38	,,	2	—	—	—	Empty.
39	,,	2	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Man was a collector; has given it up. Drinks. Looks very respectable.

Grove Buildings (Group I.—Light, good; sanitation, good).

These Buildings consist of several five-storeyed blocks; on each staircase there are twenty-four tenements, five on a floor, except the lowest. Washhouses are provided on each landing for the tenants on the floor, and adjoining there are the sinks and other sanitary conveniences. Occupying an irregular area, hemmed in by warehouses and railways, the blocks of dwellings are placed so as to obtain the maximum amount of light, and contrast strongly with the regularity usually seen in the disposition of buildings. They are well managed; the yard and staircases being kept scrupulously clean. Rents vary from 3*s* to 5*s* 9*d* per week.

No.	Floor.	Rms.	Pers.	Class.		
1	ground	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, daughter, and niece.	Carman for Pickford. Daughter at work. Niece at school.
2	„	3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 young children.	Policeman. One child goes to school.
3	„	3	3	(E)	Man, wife, and child.	Messenger in Government office. Comfortable.
4	„	2	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Wine porter. Regular work.
5	first	2	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Policeman.
6	„	3	9	(C)	Man, wife, 6 children, and wife's mother.	Compositor. Has been ill. Boy (13) at work. Poor.
7	„	1	2	(C)	Widow and child.	Charing. Child at school. Has a daughter in service.
8	„	2	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Lockman; regular. Three children at school.
9	„	2	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Upholsterer, out of work. Two children at school, and a baby.
10	second	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Engine driver; regular. Two children at school.
11	„	3	9	(B)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Journeyman baker; 24*s*. Five children at school. Very poor.
12	„	1	4	(B)	Widow and 3 children.	Tailoress; girl (14) helps. Others at school.
13	„	2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Tailor, earns about 23*s*. Children are young.
14		2	3	(E)	Man, wife, and daughter.	Customs officer. Girl (16) at work.

No.	Floor.	Rms.	Pers.	Class.		
15	third	2	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Carpenter; irregular. Boy (14) at work; others at school. Poor.
16	„	3	6	(F)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	"Jiggerman;" regular work. Two sons (21 and 13) at work; others at school.
17	„	1	2	(D)	Two sisters.	Tobacco strippers. Earn about 17*s* between them.
18	„	2	2	(C)	Old couple.	Man a tailor. Irish.
19	„	2	2	(C)	Old couple.	Man a tailor. Similar circumstances to man next door. Irish.
20	fourth	2	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Policeman.
21	„	3	8	(E)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Tailor; regular work. Boy (14) at work; others at school.
22	„	1	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Irregular labourer, Makes about 20*s*.
23	„	2	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Packer; regular. Three children at school.
24	„	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Japanner; earns about 30*s*.
25	ground	2	2	(B)	Two sisters.	One is a widow and goes out as a servant. Both are over 60 years.
26	„	3	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Wool sampler; £1 a week; at sale times 30*s*.
27	„	3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Compositor. Two children at school.
28	„	2	2	(D)	Man and daughter.	Bootmaker. Wife in asylum; husband has to help support her. Daughter (23) keeps the home.
29	first	2	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 young children.	Horsekeeper; irregular. 22*s* a week, when in work.
30	„	3	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Labourer; regular. Wife chars. Boy and girl at work.
31	„	1	3	(D)	Widow and 2 daughters.	Widow is an office cleaner. The daughters (16 and 18) help.
32	„	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Policeman. One child at school.
33	„	2	2	(B)	Man and wife.	Tailor; seldom has work; very old; 86 and 83 years respectively.
34	second	3	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Farrier; irregular. Wife chars. Two children at school, and an infant. Two grown-up children live away.
35	„	1	1	(B)	Widow.	Does needlework. Old and very poor.

PINK.

MARTYR SQUARE (Group III.—Light, very good; sanitation, good).

This place is nice in its way, and somewhat peculiar. It is built upon three sides of a square, or rather oblong. The buildings are only 14 ft. from back to front, the clear space from side to side is 50 ft. The open side is railed off from the street, a small cross street. The closed side backs into the houses in the main thoroughfare. The only entrance is through a gate in the railings, which may be closed at night, the caretaker living on the ground floor within call. The space between the dwellings is occupied by a raised garden or rockery resting on the roofs of the coal cellars, &c. There are six staircases, two on each side and one in each corner at the end. The stairs are small, narrow and winding, being arranged to cut as little as possible into the 14 ft. of room. They lead to a little balcony on each of the three upper floors, and on to these balconies give the doors of the tenements, two to each balcony, eight to each staircase—forty-eight in all. The top floor is lightened to the eye by being built "dormer" fashion. There appear to be arrangements for laundry work, &c., in the rear of the end block.

No.	Floor.	Rms.	Pers	Class.		
1	ground	3	4	(F)	Man, wife and 2 sons.	Rent collector, very deaf. Wife does the work. Sons are grown up and are at work.
2	„	3	6	(F)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Brass-finisher. Three children going to school, and a baby.
3	first	3	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Foreman at coalyard. Wife goes to service occasionally.
4	„	3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Warehouse porter, in hospital with bad leg. Daughter is a trained nurse; son just gone to work. One child at school. Wife delicate.
5	second	3	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Foreman painter. Comfortable.
6		3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Man drives a tobacconist's cart. Two children go to school, third is a baby. Tidy and comfortable.

No.	Floor.	Rms.	Pers.	Class.		
7	third	3	4	(D)	Widow, brother, sister, and baby.	Widow, looks after the house and gets 5*s* a week for the baby's keep. Brother and sister go to work; latter is epileptic and cannot do much.
„		3	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Carpenter. Wife makes buttonholes. Two children go to school, others are infants. Wife is a bad manager.
9	ground	3	4	(E)	Man, wife, son, and daughter.	Jobbing gardener. Wife cleans a chapel. Son is in post-office and daughter is a mantle maker. Man has little work.
10	„	3	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Reporter and book canvasser; seldom has work; drinks heavily; poor; used to be comfortable.
11	first	3	3	(F)	Widow and 2 sons.	Husband was a jeweller. Sons are in regular work. Comfortable.
12	„	3	5	(F)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Compositor, regular. Two children go to school. Tidy and comfortable.
13	second	3	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Porter, regular work.
14	„	3	4	(E)	Widow, son, and 2 daughters.	Widow goes out nursing; son, a cook, often out of work. One daughter a barmaid, other at school.
15	third	3	9	(E)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Mantle maker, regular. Wife and eldest daughter help. Second daughter at service. Third daughter looks after the three school children and two babies.
16	„	3	5	(F)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Carpenter. Son a shorthand clerk, 26*s*; daughter does tie work; girl at school.
17	ground	3	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Compositor, irregular. Wife delicate; does a a little sewing. Two children at school, and two babies. Seem poor.

Foulsham Buildings (Group I.—Light, good; sanitation, very good).

A fine double row of industrial dwellings; five floors, the three lower having bay-windows. There are ten tenements on each staircase, two on a floor, each consisting of two or three rooms and a small scullery with sink, copper, watercloset and other conveniences. Rents vary from 5*s* 9*d* to 7*s* 6*d*. and are strictly enforced. The buildings are kept in good repair, well painted, and clean, forming a pleasing contrast to the little houses with which they are surrounded. Particulars are given of the tenements on one staircase.

1	ground	3	7	(F)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Caretaker of a mission. Boy goes to work, and three children go to school. Very comfortable.
2	„	3	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Wood-carver, makes about 28*s*. Three children at school.
3	first	3	3	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Cabinetmaker; regular, about 26*s*. Child goes to school.
4	„	3	5	(E)	Widower and 4 children.	Printer; regular, about 28*s*. Eldest girl attends to home. Two children at school.
5	second	3	3	(E)	Man, wife, and boy.	Cabinetmaker; small employer, makes about 25*s*. Boy goes to school.
6	„	3	4	(F)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Engine-driver on railway, about 36*s*. Children go to school.
7	third	3	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Policeman. Young couple.
8	„	3	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Journeyman baker; regular, about 30*s*. Three children going to school and two infants.
9	fourth	3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Packer, earns about 24*s*. Wife earns about 5*s* or 6*s*. Children go to school.
10	„	3	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Labourer, regular. Wife does washing and earns about 5*s*. One boy works in the City, 5*s*. Three children go to school.

CHAPTER II.

INFLUX OF POPULATION (EAST LONDON).

WHY is there so little local life and sentiment in East London? Why is it hardly possible to conceive an excited throng crying "Well played, Bethnal Green," with the same spirit which nerves the men of Bradford to crowd enthusiastically to the football field on a cold and drizzling November afternoon? There are many causes of the difference which will readily occur to all, but not the least of the reasons is one which clearly appears, if we look a little more closely at such vestiges of local activity as London can actually show. If we go to any co-operative meeting in the Tower Hamlets, we may listen in vain for the accent of the Cockney among the leaders of the working men. On the other hand, the broad dialect of Yorkshire or Lancashire seems to carry us back to the centres of English industry in the North, where the Trades Union and the Co-operative Society have all the strength and vitality which is so painfully wanting in the East End. It is startling to find what a great proportion among the real leaders of London life regard London merely as a stepmother, and how many of the best of its inhabitants look elsewhere, to the Devonshire or Essex village, or to the Yorkshire or Lancashire town, for the centre of their attachment and their loyalty.

The drain from the country is one of the greatest of the unsolved social problems of London. The existence of an influx of abnormal dimensions is a common-place of writers on the social conditions of London life. It has been

admitted by all, deplored by most, explained and analyzed by none. It is vaguely believed by many to be the principal cause of the poverty and overcrowding of many parts of the East End, and the unfortunate in-comers who have migrated to the great centre in search of work, and have found none, are popularly supposed to swell the ranks of the unemployed, and to make no inconsiderable part of the floating mass of loafers and casuals, whose condition presents so hard a problem to the social reformer. On the other hand, the London-born workman looks at the matter in a very different light. He feels that it is not the immigrant, but the native, who goes to the wall. The process seems to him like a repetition of the contest between the European rat and the Maori rat—and he is the Maori rat.

But amid these vague surmises nothing definite is known. Whence do the immigrants come? Why do they come? What industries do they engage in? What social class do they recruit? How do they affect the volume of metropolitan crime, pauperism, and distress? What, in short, is the contribution which they furnish to the common life of London? These are wide questions, to none of which has a satisfactory answer been yet returned, and if the analysis here offered seem fragmentary and incomplete, I can only plead that the ground was previously unbroken; that all statistics, with the exception of the bare and meagre facts of the published Census returns, have had to be specially collected and extracted for the purpose of this inquiry; and that no returns have been forthcoming from Trades Unions, or any other organized bodies of working-men.

Sources of information.—It will be well at the outset to give a sketch of the main sources from which the materials of this picture are drawn.

The published Census returns—Vol. 3—give a statistical basis for the classification of birth-places and other valuable particulars of the population of London, and of the Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent portions respectively. No returns of

the kind have been published for the separate registration districts since 1861. But by the kindness of the Registrar-General we have been allowed access to the rough sheets of the Census, and have consequently been able to separate the birth-places of inhabitants of each registration district and sub-district, giving a much more minute classification than has been carried out before. All this information however is now nearly eight years old. Statistical returns since then have been very meagre. Valuable papers embodying the results of the published Census returns in a more convenient form, are those of Messrs. Ravenstein and Price-Williams in the *Statistical Journal* of March and June 1885 respectively. Other useful materials are supplied by the annual schedules of the School Board, which enable the ebb and flow of population in each School Board sub-district to be gauged for every year since 1878.

As regards Jewish immigration there is some material of very unequal value in the blue books of the House of Commons Committee on the Immigration and Emigration of Foreigners, and the House of Lords Committee on the Sweating System. Besides this we have the Annual Reports of the Jewish Board of Guardians and the Report of the Whitechapel Board of Guardians on foreign immigration, and some articles of various degrees of merit which have appeared in different reviews on the subject.

But the greater part of the figures have been specially obtained. The sources from which they have been taken and the methods of their collection are explained in other parts of the chapter, and in some of the more important cases acknowledgment has been made of the kindness of those who have given time and trouble to help me in the various branches of the inquiry. Mr. A. G. L. Rogers, of Toynbee Hall, has been kind enough to give me a great amount of help throughout the investigation both in collecting and tabulating statistics, and I should also offer my sincere thanks collectively to all the others,

the list of whose names would unduly prolong the chapter, without whose co-operation this study of the influx would not have been carried even so far as it has been.

Magnitude and character of the influx.—What do we mean by the influx into London?

In 1881, out of every 1000 persons living within the metropolitan district, 629 were born in the district, 343 in other parts of the United Kingdom, and 28 abroad. These facts would seem at first to be conclusive evidence of a considerable inflow of population from other parts. But a very large part of this admixture of population merely results from the ordinary ebb and flow of labour, set up by numberless industrial causes in all parts of the kingdom alike. Taking the whole of England and Wales, we find that in 1881 only 720 out of 1000 persons were living in the county of their birth. If we take the seven largest Scotch towns (the only towns for which statistics are published) the result is still more striking; for only 524 out of every 1000 inhabitants were natives by birth of the towns in which they were living.

There are districts in London where as many as a quarter of the inhabitants change their addresses in the course of a year. Every part of England shows a similar shifting backwards and forwards of population to a greater or less degree. All this internal movement, though usually confined to short distances, indicates the existence of migratory habits among the people, which must in the long run produce a considerable admixture of population, though only by a straining of language could we class it as "influx."

It is when we turn from the consideration of the mere numbers of outsiders living in London to a comparison between these numbers and the number of Londoners living elsewhere—in other words, when we compare the volume of inflow and outflow—that we see the real significance of the influx.

There were in 1881 nearly double as many natives of other parts of England and Wales resident in London as natives of London living in other parts of England and Wales.* In other words (leaving out for the moment the question of foreign immigration and emigration) London was, at that time, recruited from England and Wales to the extent of 579,371 persons, the excess of inflow over outflow.

We may look at the question from another point of view. The population of London in 1871 was 3,254,260. The excess of births over deaths in London in the next ten years was 454,475. Thus the population should in 1881 have been 3,708,735. It actually was 3,816,488, showing an unaccounted-for excess of 107,753, which is the nett direct result of the process of recruiting from the country and abroad during ten years. Thus London gains *directly* at the rate of rather more than 10,000 a year from its contact with other places, a number which would be largely increased if we included in London such rapidly growing districts as West Ham in Essex.†

Just as changes of temperature represent the balance of gain or loss due to a far larger and constant exchange of heat by radiation and absorption, so this comparatively small annual gain to London is the index of a much more extensive interchange of population between London and the country. Whereas, however, the exchanges of heat are merely quantitative, there is usually in exchanges of population a *qualitative* change, not indicated by any statistical returns, but which is in reality the key to the whole problem of influx from the country to London.

I may make my meaning clearer by a single example. In the Census of 1861 there is a most valuable distinction

* The exact figures are 1,164,071 and 584,000.

† Of course these 10,000 persons have children and it may be said that the increase of London due to influx, in some sense, includes them as well as their parents. This increase is, however, an indirect rather than direct result of the difference between immigration and emigration.

drawn in the tables of birth-places between persons over and under the age of twenty. This distinction unfortunately disappears in later censuses. But, taking the figures for that year, I find that of the natives of London living in other parts of England and Wales nearly 40 per cent. were under twenty years of age (*i.e.* not far below the normal proportion for a stationary population), while of the natives of other parts of England and Wales living in London less than 19 per cent. were under twenty, showing that the influx into London contained a larger proportion of adults than the efflux. The average age of the population in London may thus have been materially affected by the exchange.

I only allude to this as an illustration of a much wider process, which is continually going on in London and other towns, apart from any mere increase in size—a radical structural alteration due to the abstraction by emigration of a large number of its population, of certain types, ages, and grades, and their replacement by another and larger number of persons of different characteristics.

If we turn from London in general to the East End the importance of these observations becomes obvious. There has been of late years little, if any, influx into East London, in the sense of an excessive growth directly traceable to immigration. In fact, the figures of the last census seem to point to an opposite change. The following table shows the discrepancy between the actual growth of population of East London and Hackney and the "natural growth," as defined before.

East London and Hackney (including Stoke Newington).

Population 1871	765,062
„ 1881 calculated by excess of births over deaths	886,128
Actual population 1881	879,200
Deficiency	6,928

This seems to show an actual loss by contact with the country and other parts of London which may be a surprise to many, though scarcely perhaps to those who are aware of the extent of the overflow from the congested districts in the centre towards the newer suburban districts such as West Ham. It is difficult adequately to study East London as a centre of absorption or dispersion without constantly keeping before our minds the fact that the most rapid growth has taken place in districts such as this which industrially are part of London, but are not included in the Metropolitan area.

If we take the urban sanitary district of West Ham, the population of which has grown at a very rapid rate, we find that in 1881 out of every 1000 inhabitants only 384 were born in Essex, while of the remainder as many as 298 were born in London, and 318 elsewhere. Essex, as we shall see later, is the chief recruiting ground for East London, and though no figures are available by which to separate the contingent which West Ham receives from East London from that which flows to it from the rest of the metropolis, it is certain, if only from its geographical position, that East London is the principal recruiting ground for West Ham.

If we apply the same method as that used above to each registration district separately the results are very striking.

	Whitechapel.	St. George's-in-the-East.	Stepney.	Mile End Old Town.	Poplar.	Shoreditch.	Bethnal Green.	Hackney.
Population, 1871	76573	48052	57690	93152	116376	127164	120104	124951
Excess of births over deaths, 1871-81.....	2507	6195	8648	18420	22082	21049	22090	20075
Total...	79080	54247	66338	111572	138458	148213	142194	145026
Actual population, 1881	71363	47157	58543	105613	156510	126591	126961	186462
Excess of actual population	—	—	—	—	18052	—	—	41436
Deficit of actual population	7717	7090	7795	5959	—	21622	15233	—

The inflow is universally seen to be less than the outflow in those districts of London where poverty and overcrowding are greatest.

Our district then as a whole has grown in population at a slower rate than it would have done had it been surrounded by a wall, so that no one could go out or come in, and grown only by excess of births over deaths, assuming the birth and death rates to be unaltered by the introduction of this condition.

The interest of the migration from the country to East London therefore lies in the interchange rather than the addition of population, for direct addition there is none.

It is however likely that the interchange has *indirectly* stimulated population in London. We have assumed above that the birth and death rates were unaffected by the process of migration; in reality however this assumption is very improbable, for such are the conditions of life in large towns, that there is little doubt that the annual rate of excess of births over deaths would have been appreciably less. There is a strong conviction in the minds of many, incapable however of strict verification, that Londoners tend to die out after the second or at least the third generation. If this is so, clearly the structural change which is continually going on in London in consequence of the admixture of outside elements is powerfully operating to keep up the excess of births over deaths which might even conceivably change into an excess of deaths over births if London were left alone as was actually the case according to Professor Thorold Rogers during the 17th Century.

Thus London is to a great extent nourished by the literal consumption of bone and sinew from the country; by the absorption every year of large numbers of persons of stronger physique, who leaven the whole mass, largely direct the industries, raise the standard of health and comfort, and keep up the rate of growth of the great city only to give

place in their turn to a fresh set of recruits, after London life for one or two generations has reduced them to the level of those among whom they live.

Localization of the Influx.—Having got a rough idea of the general character of the influx, we may proceed to analyze and localize it more exactly.

Of the whole population of East London and Hackney, 280 out of every 1,000 are immigrants from the outside. In these figures Stoke Newington is omitted from Hackney, this sub-district not being included in the School Board division. Stoke Newington is one of the most growing parts of Hackney, and with the exception of Stamford Hill and the sub-registration district of Aldgate in Whitechapel, it contains the greatest proportion of immigrants. The accompanying maps show separately the proportions of those living in the various sub-registration districts who were born (1) in the provinces, (2) abroad, and (3) anywhere outside London.

The statistics on which the maps are based were extracted from the rough sheets of the 1881 Census, and are given in detail in the tables on pp. 113-119, from which the exact composition of the population of each registrar's sub-district up to 1881 can be read off.

Referring to map 1, it will be seen that the most purely "London" district is a part of Bethnal Green, the sub-district of Bethnal Green Town containing only 12½ per cent. of countrymen, while as is to be expected, the proportion of immigrants from the country largely increases as we go from the centre to the circumference. The maps and tables however must be left in the main to tell their own tale.

Sources of the Influx.—The map of England facing p. 67 shows the sources within England and Wales from which immigrants into East London are drawn. The relation of the numbers to distance is very well defined.

To bring this out more clearly, I have divided England

EAST LONDON AND HACKNEY.

Proportion of population of EAST LONDON & HACKNEY, born in other parts of THE UNITED KINGDOM (1881).

Registrar's Districts are named.
..... ,, ... Sub-districts are numbered in agreement with the Census Tables 1881.



Stanford's Geog.l Estab.t

and Wales into a series of rings of counties, in a roughly semi-circular arrangement round London.*

I then calculated the average distance of each of these rings by a method analogous to that for finding centres of gravity,† and finally the percentage of inhabitants of each ring living (1) in London, (2) in East London and Hackney. We thus can see the relation between the proportions of inhabitants who migrate to London and East London respectively, and the distance they have to travel. I also place in another column the density of population of each ring.

Ring.	Average distance from London in miles.	No. of persons per 1000 of population of each ring living in London, 1881.	Do. in East London and Hackney.	Density of population per 1000 acres.
1	23.8	166·0	30·0	800
2	52·5	121·4	18·3	488
3	90·9	61·2	9·5	540
4	126·0	32·0	4·0	516
5	175·7	16·2	2·4	800
6	236·9	24·9	3·4	406

The proportion of persons who migrate to London shows a close relation to distance as far as the last two rings, where the disturbing influence of the great manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire is felt, the superior attraction of these towns absorbing the migratory population of the neighbourhood and overcoming the attraction

* These rings are as follows :—1. Extra Metropolitan Middlesex, Surrey, Kent and Essex. 2. Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, Hertford, Buckingham, Oxford, Berkshire, Hampshire, Sussex. 3. Norfolk, Northampton, Rutland, Leicester, Warwick, Worcester, Gloucester, Wiltshire, Dorset, 4. Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Stafford, Shropshire, Hereford, Monmouth, Somerset. 5. Yorkshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Flint, Denbigh, Merioneth, Montgomery, Radnor, Brecknock, Glamorgan, Devonshire. 6. Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Carnarvon, Anglesey, Cardigan, Pembroke, Carmarthen, Cornwall.

† The average distance of a ring of counties is taken to be the result of multiplying the population of each county by the distance of its centre from London, adding the products and dividing by the total population of the ring.

of the more distant centre. When we get beyond this circle the proportion of migrants to London again rises.

The tables for London and East London and Hackney, respectively, reveal no material difference in the proportions from the various rings of counties from which they are supplied, except in the case of the first ring of all, which sends a disproportionate number of immigrants to East London and Hackney. The other rings send into our special district approximately one-seventh of their total migrants to London, while the contribution of the first ring amounts to nearly one-fifth. We conclude that the immediately contiguous counties pour migrants into our district to an abnormal extent. Thus, more than 28,000 natives of Essex reside in East London and Hackney, being nearly a third of the whole number found in the metropolis.

Mr. Ravenstein has formulated a law of migration by stages, according to which short distance migration is much more common than long distance movements, and the latter when they occur are frequently made by means of successive short stages. This theory is supported by much statistical reasoning, though of course difficult to prove conclusively. There is, in fact, probably a combination of the two kinds of migration largely dependent upon the occupations and character of the native county of the migrant.

Immigration into London may be roughly classified under two heads, drift and current. By drift, I mean the general "set" towards a great centre, carrying with it the restless and unsettled spirits with vague ambitions, rather than definite aims, and bearing on its surface not a little of the social wreckage of the provinces. By current, I mean the immigration of individuals, often the cream of their native counties, moving to London to seek a distinct economic advantage.* The latter immigrants come probably chiefly from the manufacturing districts or the small towns, and

* This and the whole of the chapter was written before Dr. Ogle's interesting paper on the alleged depopulation of the rural districts was read

Proportion of inhabitants of EAST LONDON & HACKNEY (1881) born in other parts of ENGLAND AND WALES per 1000 of population of their Native Counties.

0-2 per thousand of population.
2-4 " "
4-7 " "
7-10 " "
10-20 " "
20-30 " "
30-50 " "
50-and upwards.

NORTHUMBERLAND
CUMBERLAND
DURHAM
WESTMORLAND
I. OF MAN
YORKSHIRE
LANCASHIRE
ANGLESEY
CARNARVON
DENBIGH
FLINT
CHESHIRE
DERBY
NOTTINGHAM
LINCOLN
MERIONETH
SHROPSHIRE
STAFFORD
LEICESTER
RUTLAND
NORFOLK
MONTGOMERY
CARDIGAN
RADNOR
WORCESTER
WARWICK
NORTHAMPTON
HUNTINGDON
CAMBRIDGE
SUFFOLK
PEMBROKE
HEREFORD
BEDFORD
BUCKS
HERTFORD
ESSEX
CARMARTHEN
BRECKNOCK
MONMOUTH
GLAMORGAN
GLOUCESTERSHIRE
OXFORD
BERKS
WILTS
SURREY
KENT
SOMERSET
HANTS
SUSSEX
DEVON
DORSET
CORNWALL

30 20 10 0 30 60 Engl.h Miles

Stanford's Geogl Estabt

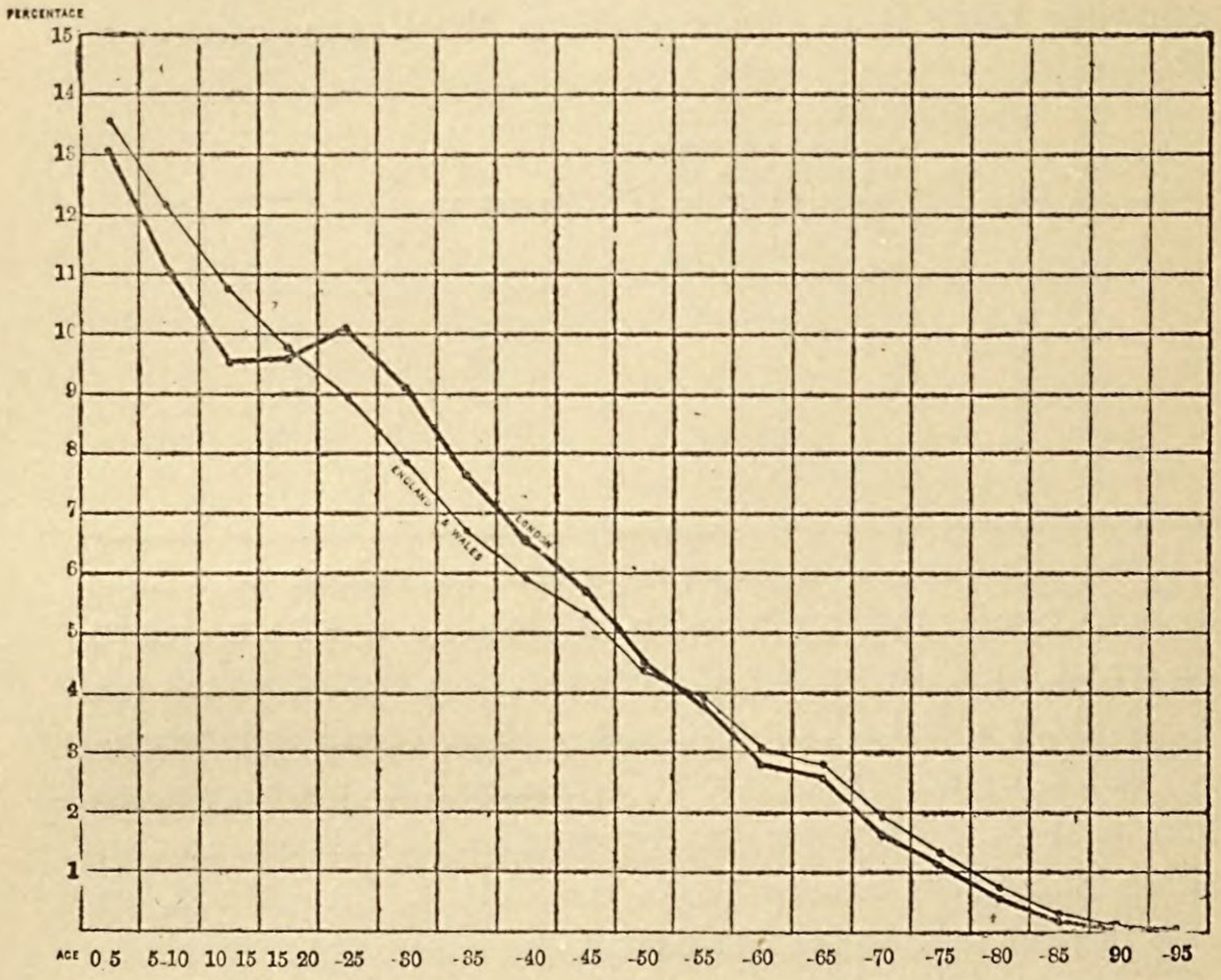
go straight to their final destination, whereas the former drift up by slow stages. It has occurred to me to try and test the truth of Mr. Ravenstein's theory by the following method. If it be true that immigrants to London move as a rule by stages from long distances, settling for considerable periods at intermediate places in the interval, then as a general rule the average ages of immigrants from great distances living in London should be greater than those whose birth-places are nearer the great centre. The following table is constructed from the Census returns of 1861, the last year for which any figures are available.

Ring.	Percentage of the total migrants from various rings of Counties to London, who in 1861 were under 20.	Do. over 20.	Distance in miles.
1	22·4	77·6	23·8
2	18·1	81·9	52·5
3	16·8	83·2	90·9
4	15·4	84·6	126·0
5	19·1	80·9	175·7
6	15·9	84·1	236·2

It will be seen that the proportion of minors to adults bears a regular inverse relation to distance until we get to the great manufacturing districts of the north, which (as usual) show a disturbing influence. The result is interesting, but it would be wrong to consider it as proving more than it does. The greater proportion of minors among immigrants from nearer parts is likely to be caused, at least in part, by the greater extent of immigration by whole families from adjacent counties, especially from agricultural districts. Long distance migrants probably include large numbers of young men between the age of 20 and 30 who have served their time as apprentices in industrial provincial centres, where apprenticeship still prevails, and then come to London, attracted by higher wages.

before the Statistical Society on March 19th, 1889. In that valuable paper the question of migration is treated from the point of view of the country districts.

The ages at which immigration chiefly takes place seem to lie between 15 and 30. This is true in general of immigration from the country into towns, as is shown conclusively by a comparison of the number of persons of various ages living in urban and rural districts respectively. London seems to present no very peculiar features in this respect, but the facts about the age of immigrants are well brought out by a comparison of the two curves on the accompanying diagram.



The figures in the vertical row indicate percentages of the total population in 1881, who were between the various ages indicated by the figures on the horizontal line. The disturbance of the normal percentages in the case of London due to immigration, shows itself unmistakably in an upward movement of the curve between the ages of 15 and 30. I append the table of statistics on which the diagram is based.

Age.	ENGLAND AND WALES.			LONDON.		
	Number	Percentage		Number.	Percentage.	
under 5 yrs.	3,520,864	13·56	46·26	497,044	13·03	43·28
5—10	3,147,396	12·12		419,740	11·00	
10—15	2,800,331	10·78		366,111	9·59	
15—20	2,547,232	9·80		368,628	9·66	
20—25	2,328,226	8·96	39·33	385,236	10·09	43·75
25—30	2,047,992	7·89		348,723	9·14	
30—35	1,745,469	6·72		292,542	7·67	
35—40	1,541,399	5·94		251,133	6·58	
40—45	1,399,354	5·39		219,998	5·76	
45—50	1,151,371	4·43		172,189	4·51	
50—55	1,022,075	3·94	14·41	148,341	3·89	12·97
55—60	806,464	3·10		107,023	2·80	
60—65	727,622	2·80		98,898	2·59	
65—70	502,469	1·93		61,929	1·62	
70—75	349,955	1·35		41,886	1·10	
75—80	202,322	·78		22,683	·60	
80—85	95,750	·37		10,299	·27	
85—90	29,987	·12		3,172	·08	
90—95	6,790	·02		753	·02	
95—100	1,230			142		
100 and upwards	141			13		
Total.....	25,974,439	100·00		3,816,483	100·00	

An inspection of the coloured map facing p. 67 reveals the fact that the agricultural, far more than the manufacturing, counties serve as the feeders of East London and Hackney. To bring out this fact more distinctly, I have divided the counties of England and Wales into two groups, according to the proportion of their inhabitants engaged in agriculture and other industries respectively, and taken the twelve counties which stand highest in each list. Let us compare the influx from each of these groups.

	Population 1881.	Natives living in East London and Hackney 1881.	Number per 1000 of population of native counties.
Twelve Agricultural counties ...	2,129,661	33,322	16
Twelve Manufacturing counties...	10,364,093	24,898	2·4

If we classified the counties of England and Wales according to the proportion, not of their total inhabitants, but of the total migrants sent forth from them who are found living in London, we should clearly perceive the influence not only of distance but of facility of access. The greatest proportion, considering distance, is that shown by Devonshire, Somerset, Dorset, and Cornwall, which collectively send 24·7 per cent. of their migrants into London. Here the geographical situation, giving practically only one degree of freedom of movement to the migrant, is doubtless a great operative cause. In general, it will be found that a disproportionate amount of migration takes place to London from counties with a seaboard.

Far the lowest percentages, considering the distance, come from the Midland counties, Derby, Cheshire, Stafford, and Shropshire, which send only 4·6 per cent. of their migrants to London, Sandwiched as they are between Lancashire and Yorkshire on the one hand and the Midland manufacturing districts on the other, they doubtless pour an abnormal proportion of migrants into one or other of those centres of absorption.

Causes of the Influx.—An analysis of the causes of the London influx would involve a classification of the previous employments of the migrants, and for this classification no materials are available. Many are vaguely believed to have been "driven off the land," under which formula are included the cases of all who have either left agricultural pursuits for life in the great city, and those who presumably would under normal circumstances have gone into such pursuits, had not a narrowing field of employment compelled them to turn their eyes in another direction. Under one or other of these heads a great many London immigrants are doubtless to be classified, but not so many as might be inferred from the extraordinary preponderance of immigrants from agricultural over those from manufacturing counties.

The number of persons engaged in agriculture in 1881 in England and Wales was 1,341,000, against 1,503,900 in 1871.* This shows a decrease at the rate of rather more than 1 per cent. per annum, which is a good deal less than the proportion who annually arrive at the age when agricultural labour is begun. Hence the figures would not necessarily imply so much a drain of actual as of potential agricultural labourers into the towns. An analysis, however, of the ages of the agricultural population at the two periods reveals the fact that (owing presumably to the operation of the Education Act in restricting child labour) the field of employment for young men between 15 and 20 actually *widened* between 1871 and 1881, so that the flow to the towns has probably taken place chiefly above the age of 20. Appended are the figures for the male agricultural population for 1861, 1871, and 1881 :—

	Under 15.	15 to 20.	20 to 25.	25 to 65.	Over 65.
1861	123,200	217,500	170,000	924,600	149,400
1871	104,200	194,800	148,600	819,500	151,400
1881	71,400	202,200	144,600	737,700	120,500

Again, a marked feature of the last few decades has been the relative decline of small rural towns. Here it is rather a falling off in small country industries than in actual agricultural employment which seems to be the cause of the migration.

I shall say something of the special causes which influence migration towards London when speaking of separate industries. But it is safe to say here that these causes are far too numerous and complex to be included under so simple an explanation as that usually offered. First there is the purely economic movement set up by differences in wage level in London and in the provinces. Engineer's wages vary from 38*s* in London to 26*s* in country

* According to Mr. Booth's calculation.

districts. Compositor's wages are 36*s* in London and 25*s* at Bury St. Edmund's. The cost of living in London is, of course, higher, but this is often rather a drawback found out afterwards than a hindrance to immigration. Thus a natural flow is caused of the better workmen towards London, and in cases where Trades Unions have much strength there will doubtless be a counter tendency (of what force it is difficult to say) for inferior workmen in skilled trades to leave London, where they cannot earn the current wage, for provincial districts where they can.

Sometimes, again, as in the building trades, employments are so affected by division of labour in London, that an all-round man can only be made by learning his trade in the country. For example, joiners are "made" in the small towns, and then move towards the great centres. Another instance of attraction into the towns is afforded by the comparatively small trade of mill sawyers. Formerly, before the days of machine saws, timber was sawn in the country districts where it grew. Now the industry is transferred to mills in large towns, whither the former pit sawyers of the country have followed their work. Again, the greater choice of regiments which used to be within the reach of an intending recruit in London before the introduction of the territorial system must have attracted countrymen into London for the purpose of enlisting.

Besides these and many other direct economic causes leading to immigration, there are others which lead to the circulation of labour and consequently increase the admixture of outside elements in the London population. There is, for example, a considerable migration of boot and shoe makers between London and the various provincial centres of the industry, according to the varying season of the trade in different parts of the country. Tailoring also is, to some extent, a migratory trade, though less than formerly. In several trades an artificial premium has been set upon migration, at all events in past times, by the action of

Trades Unions in granting travelling pay. Speaking generally, however, Trade Union rules are less favourable nowadays to migration in search of work than they used to be, and though the Unions send a man direct to a place where he has already obtained a situation, they are rightly putting down the system of tramping so far as their own members are concerned.

Then, besides the stream of industrial migration, there is the real tramp to be remembered; an article manufactured in as well as out of London, perhaps more in London than elsewhere. And there is the beggar, who, since the time of Homer, has found "the city a better place to beg in than the country."

But we cannot measure the attraction of London by any enumeration of causes such as these. We cannot gauge by statistics the effect on the imagination of a country boy bred in the dull, if healthy, monotony of a sleepy rural district, of the strange stories poured into his ears by the wayfarer or the travelling showman from London, about the busy life and scenes of that wonderful city far away beyond the hills that bound his horizon. What an attraction, too, for the restless and unsteady spirit is the city which asks no questions, where old stories are buried and where the secrets of a doubtful past are safe: what a fascination for the ambitious is offered by the gigantic lottery of chances: what a refuge for the loafer is the "paradise of odd jobs:" what a hope for the impecunious is offered by the numberless doles and charities with which London abound. Add to all this the contagion of numbers, the sense of something going on, the theatres and the music halls, the brightly lighted streets and busy crowds:—all, in short, that makes the difference between the Mile End fair on a Saturday night, and a dark and muddy country lane, with no glimmer of gas and with nothing to do. Who could wonder that men are drawn into such a vortex, even were the penalty heavier than it is?

But the continual flow to the towns does not necessarily imply that they are becoming more, or that the country districts are becoming less, attractive. This may be and probably is the case, but it is not proved by the immigration. All that is proved is that the attractions of the towns are becoming better known and more accessible.

In looking back at past times we have to think of an England virtually divided up into separate communities with little interchange of population or ideas. Under such conditions great differences of nett advantages held out by neighbouring districts might fail to induce a flow from one to the other. But England has now been provided by the railroads with a system of veins and arteries, and by the telegraph and penny post with a nervous organization which has brought the thought and ideas of each part in touch with those of all. The result has been a disturbance of equilibrium between town and country which has not yet subsided. For the last thirty or forty years there has been going on a process of equalization of advantages of various districts which has shown itself in a more rapid circulation of labour and an excessive growth of population in some parts of the kingdom at the expense of that of others. Such unequal growth is inevitable, and the circulation which causes it is healthy and not unhealthy, so far as it is induced by increased facility of access. The growth of the towns is only morbid so far as it is the result of other and more positive causes tending to the artificial depopulation of the rural districts.

The overflow from East London.—The outflow from East London and Hackney is harder to study than the inflow, both as to its magnitude, its composition, its causes, and its destination. There is a continual stream of population from the centre to the circumference which does not figure directly in the Census returns because it proceeds no further than the outlying districts within the metropolitan area. Thus the congested districts of Whitechapel and St.

George's-in-the-East act as feeders to Poplar, which is also largely recruited by immigration from the outside. The best areas, however, in which to study this transfer of population are West Ham, in Essex, and intra-metropolitan Surrey. Sandwiched between London and the country, West Ham catches and retains an abnormally large proportion of migrants from each as has been shown above. Again, out of every 1000 inhabitants of intra-metropolitan Surrey, 162 were drawn from the Middlesex part of the metropolis, showing an overflow towards the newer parts of London south of the river.

The most rapidly growing parts of East London grow then from two sources; they are recruited at once from the inflow from without and the overflow from within. The density of the overcrowded districts nearer the centre is not increasing, but gradually falling off, according to the Census returns. I doubt, however, whether it will not be found at the next Census that the tide has again turned, and that St. George's-in-the-East, if not Whitechapel, is again rising in numbers. The overflow which has caused the decrease was largely due to demolitions of dwellings, partly to give place to model blocks, partly for commercial purposes, as in the case of the district near the Mint. In order to study the changes of population due to these demolitions, it is convenient to make use of some of the annual schedules of school children drawn up for the various School Board subdivisions of the Tower Hamlets. Perhaps the best small areas for our purpose are subdivisions A and C, the former of which includes the whole of Whitechapel north of the Whitechapel Road and the west of Commercial Street, thus covering a great part of the Jewish quarter of Spitalfields; while the latter covers all Whitechapel north of the Whitechapel Road and east of Commercial Street. Thus the two together are co-terminous with the three registration sub-districts of Spitalfields, Mile End New Town, and White-

chapel North. It is an area in which a great deal of demolition was carried out under Lord Cross's Act, particularly in the years immediately preceding 1884, and the great model blocks of the Brunswick, Wentworth Rothschild, Lolesworth, George Yard, and College Buildings, now occupy the area formerly covered by pestilential rookeries. Here are the figures of the school children scheduled in this district by the School Board officers.

	A.	C.	Total.
1871 (from Census)	3505	6935	10,440
1879*	3285	6165	9450
1880	3260	6034	9294
1881	3059	6530	9589
1882	2870	6477	9347
1883	2901	6308	9209
1884	2489	6022	8511
1885	2766	6230	8996
1886	3257	6553	9810
1887	3364	6546	9910

The year of greatest depression is 1884, from which point both A and C gradually fill up again. In that year the parish of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, seemed to be half pulled down. The next few years were times of great rebuilding activity, and by 1886 almost all the blocks I have enumerated were erected. The effect is seen by referring to the figures I have given. The rapid increase there shown is perhaps also to be attributed in part to the influx of foreign Jews, the increase in both subdivisions being very marked between 1885 and 1886, after the expulsion of the Poles from Prussia. Again, C

* It is probable that the schedules in these early years were about 10 per cent. below the mark. This discrepancy has been reduced to about 3 per cent. for the last years.

The year 1878, the first for which the schedules are available, is omitted, as there seems some reason to doubt the accuracy of the scheduling for that year in some of these subdivisions. In 1888 a change in the date of scheduling has made the figures for that year unsuitable for purposes of comparison.

shows a marked increase in 1881, due partly, perhaps, to incomplete scheduling in previous years, but in curious contrast to the continued decrease on the other side of Commercial Street. It indicates probably both the beginning of the immigration of Jews into the neighbourhood of Fashion Street, Old Montague Street, &c., and a transference of population from over the way, in consequence of the clearances in Goulston Street and surrounding parts.* It is evident that the extensive clearances are mainly responsible for the startling falling off in population of Whitechapel between 1871 and 1881. That falling off indicated a diminution of inhabited houses, not a diminution of number of persons to a house, or to a room. Indeed, the number of persons to an inhabited house remained about the same, or if anything rose slightly in the interval. It would seem that when a certain degree of density is reached in a district of a certain type of inhabitants, we arrive at a point of *saturation*, beyond which crowding will not go; a decrease in house accommodation will mean then a real dispersal, rather than an additional permanent overcrowding of the neighbourhood; the increase due to the natural growth of the population will overflow into the less densely peopled parts, while immigration from the outside will be almost entirely checked. The congested districts of Bethnal Green show the smallest percentage of outsiders, and the whole of the crowded parts of East London have far less than their due proportion of country born inhabitants.

It is certain that the clearances and rebuildings cause a far greater disturbance of population than is represented by a mere flow outward and back again. The model blocks do not necessarily, or (in many cases) probably, provide for the *actual* displaced population, so much as for an equivalent number of others, sometimes of a different class. In

* To follow the details of this description of migration reference should be made to the large map at the beginning of the volume.

Shadwell, the Peabody Dwellings seem to have drawn almost exclusively on the inhabitants of the immediate neighbourhood, and therefore, presumably, on the same class of people as formerly dwelt on the site of the buildings. On the other hand, the "reclamation" of part of Flower and Dean Street and Thrawl Street, in Spitalfields, by the erection of the Lolesworth and Rothschild Buildings, has had the result of causing part of the semi-criminal class who formerly made those streets some of the most notorious in London to transfer their haunts, and with them the supremacy in evil repute, across Commercial Street to Dorset Street and its surrounding alleys.

I do not think that there is any evidence that model blocks act as magnets to attract to themselves a direct influx from the country. The Peabody Dwellings in Shadwell and Commercial Street contain 1,884 families, and in no less than 1,783 cases the last addresses entered in the books are in some part of London, the great majority of them being in the immediately adjacent districts. The advantages offered by model dwellings are not such as appeal directly to the imagination of the labourer. Sanitary conditions are desirable, but not always desired; restrictions as to cleanliness, overcrowding, vaccination, &c., are often naturally looked on as drawbacks. It is one thing to reduce the rental to an abnormally low figure, it is quite another to offer real, but not obvious, advantages in return for the rent current in the district.

I have only partial figures as to the birthplaces of the inhabitants of two model blocks of dwellings. One of these is situated in a district crowded with a low Irish population. An attempt was made, with a success at first alarming to its promoters, to draw into the buildings the very poor of the neighbourhood. Since then, the inevitable regulations have resulted in the voluntary or compulsory removal of many members of "class B." But it is still a strange mixture, in which all types and grades are represented.

The following are the figures :—

Born in London	57
Other parts of England	49
Scotland	14
Ireland	25
Abroad	15
	160

The returns are but partial, and it is possible that the birthplace may have been recorded with somewhat greater regularity in the case of country immigrants than in that of London natives.

The classes and industries from which these people are drawn are of a most miscellaneous kind. One has been on an Eastern exploring expedition; one has driven a steamboat in Turkey. There are Irish, driven to England by the famine of 1846, and Polish Jews, driven from Russia by persecution. Several have in their time played many parts. One began by marrying a rich widow in Normandy, but prefers life as an *ouvrier* in London. Another has been successively a sailor, a dock official, a lodging-house "deputy," and a coachman. It is a roving population not easy to deal with, often flitting to escape rent, often to escape the School Board officer. But this migration rarely proceeds outside the little charmed circle of alleys where "old pals" reside: it is rather of the nature of a circular movement, so that at the end of ten years a man is as near his birthplace as at the beginning, having perhaps lived in each of the neighbouring streets in the meantime.

Division of immigrants into Classes.—In attempting to assign the place which the immigrants from the country take in the social fabric of East London and Hackney, we must distinguish carefully the volume of the addition, from the *percentage* contribution which they make to various social layers and trades. For example, more countrymen are doubtless working at the Docks in East London to-day than are engaged in the trade, say, of plumbing. But the total

number of Dock labourers so greatly exceeds that of plumbers, that we are right in saying that the influx tends to recruit the latter trade rather than the former.

We must remember that 46 out of every 100 male adult inhabitants of London were born in London itself, and compare the percentages of Londoners in various industries with this normal standard.

Beginning, then, from below, we have first to deal with the criminal class. This class, though in a certain sense at the bottom of the social scale, is on a slightly different footing from all the others. It is largely a hereditary class; its members are morally lower, but often intellectually higher, than the paupers and casuals immediately next in succession. They are not gradually manufactured by the conditions of city life in the same sense in which the skilled artisan in often manufactured into a labourer, the labourer into a casual, and the casual into a pauper, by the combined causes of personal "unfitness" and industrial dislocations. The criminal, is frequently a type by himself, and probably hereditary disposition, even more than physical surroundings, is the predisposing cause to crime. Again, the criminal has a distinct advantage in being in London. Nowhere is he so secure, and nowhere has he better chances of successfully pursuing his calling. Hence we may expect to find that a considerable proportion of metropolitan criminals have been attracted into London from outside. As a matter of fact this proportion is a good deal larger than in the case of the casuals, but is still below the normal standard. The Home Office authorities were kind enough to take a census of the metropolitan prisons for the purpose of this inquiry and the results showed (so far as the statements of the prisoners could be relied on) that of 3864 prisoners on the 8th December, 1888, in the metropolitan local prisons 2264, or 59 per cent., were born in London. Now the great majority of these prisoners are adults, so that we have to compare this percentage with the proportion of adults (male

and female) living in London and born within the metropolitan area, which amounts to about 47 per cent. In spite, then, of the attractions which London offers to criminals in the provinces, it would seem that the greater part of London crime is a home-growth.

The next class to be considered is that of the paupers. The only statistics I have as yet obtained on this head are those kindly collected for me by the officials of the Board of Guardians in Whitechapel and Stepney.

The inmates of the South Grove (Whitechapel) workhouse and infirmary were classified according to birth-places on 7th November last, with the following result:

	Workhouse.		Infirmary.	
	No.	Percentage.	No.	Percentage.
Born in London.....	188	58·4	327	54·4
Other parts.....	134	41·6	274	45·6
Total	322	100	601	100

Both workhouse and infirmary show a considerable excess of Londoners compared with the whole adult population of Whitechapel, of which less than 28 per cent. are London born. But as very few Jews are to be found in the workhouse or infirmary the comparison is not very exact.

The length of residence of the inmates in London has also been tabulated for both workhouse and infirmary.*

	Workhouse.	Infirmary.	Total.
Under 1 year	13	26	39
1—5 years	9	34	43
5—10 years	14	23	37
10—20 years	27	57	84
Over 20 years	257	423	680
Unable to say	2	38	40

* In this table the length of residence of both Londoners and outsiders is given.

It may be observed that out of 408 paupers born out of London at least half had been over 20 years in London.

The returns from Stepney are of a different nature, but throw light on our subject from another point of view. Under the Settlement Law it becomes necessary to record the place from which each new pauper has migrated into the Union in which he applies for relief, provided he has not been resident in the Union for more than twelve months at the time of his first application. The result shows the proportion of countrymen who apply for relief in Stepney after less than twelve months' residence in that district. The results of the table are not easy to interpret exactly, as those who are set down as migrating into the Union from other parts of London may be countrymen by birth and *vice versâ*, but at least the table suggests that but a small proportion of persons who drift into any one district of London from the country come on the rates within twelve months.

Stepney Union (*population about* 38,000).

New applications (September 1, 1887, to August 31, 1888), from heads of families who had been resident in the union more than twelve months	395
Do. less than twelve months, having previously resided in :—	
Other parts of the Tower Hamlets	246
Other parts of London	78
Provinces or abroad	64
Total	783

Rising from the paupers into the next grade, the semi-paupers and thriftless, our best mode of gauging the sources from which they are drawn is afforded by the record of birth-places of applicants for relief to the Charity Organization Society. At most of the branch offices in the East End no complete record has been kept, so that the statistics are solely obtained from St. George's-in-the-East and Mile End Old Town.

It will be seen that there is no material difference in the

figures between the two columns except for an excess of Irish in St. George's, where a considerable low-class Irish population (to a large extent, however, of London birth) is to be found. In both cases it is quite clear from the figures (which refer to *adults* only) that applicants for C. O. S. relief are more often bred in the town than drawn in from the country.

Charity Organization Society. Oct. 1, 1887—*Sept.* 30, 1888.

Birthplaces.	Mile End Old Town.	St. George's-in-the-East.	Total.	
			Number.	Percentage.
London	232	254	486	70
Other parts of England and Wales.....	86	51	137	
Scotland	2	8	10	
Ireland	5	26	31	
Abroad	11	18	29	
Total outside London	104	103	207	30
Total applications	336	357	693	100

Another step up the social ladder brings us to the army of unskilled labourers, whence we rise through the various grades of skilled labour to the class of artisans and mechanics. Most of the information I have been able to obtain about these classes is best given under the heads of the different trades and industries to which the next section of this chapter is devoted. A word or two may, however, be inserted here as to the origin of the army and the police.*

The recruits who joined the army in the metropolitan district between October 1st, 1887, and September 30th,

* The figures for the army have been furnished by the kindness of Colonel Henderson, of the St. George's Barracks. Those relating to the Metropolitan police force were obtained by the Home Office authorities, while for the statistics of the City police we are indebted to Sir James Fraser, K.C.B.

1888, numbered 3,440, who may be thus classified according to birthplaces

		Percentage.
London :—		
East London and Hackney.....	263	
Other parts of London.....	1658	
Total in London	1921	56
Other parts of England and Wales	1310	
Scotland.....	46	
Ireland	63	
Abroad	100	
Total out of London.....	1519	44
Total	3440	100

The advantages which, as I mentioned before, were formerly offered by London as a place in which to enlist have now vanished under the territorial system of regiments, and the figures would probably be very different if taken for a similar period ten years ago. It should be noted that these statistics refer to young men, chiefly between the ages of 20 and 30—the period of life when migration usually takes place, and for which, consequently, the percentage of outsiders should be at its maximum. When this is taken into account it will be seen that the recruits who join the army in London show a very large relative excess of the London-born element, thus tending to confirm the conclusion that it is among Londoners rather than countrymen that lack of employment is found.

A very different result is shown by the statistics of the police, of whom no fewer than 70 per cent. have come into London from the provinces. The Metropolitan and the City forces show almost exactly the same features in this respect, and they are doubtless traceable to the same cause. The strength and steadiness of the countryman is here of the greatest service, and he is attracted by the higher rate of wages offered by the Metropolitan and City authorities. The exact figures are given on the following page.

	Born in London.	Born elsewhere.	Total.
Metropolitan police (Dec. 1888) ...	2716	10,908	13,624
City ,, do.	194	698	892
Total.....	2910	11,606	14,516

I have wished very much to be able to state definitely how far the London workmen's organizations, such as the Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, and Workmen's Clubs draw on the native population, or how far they are recruited and governed by country men. It has, however, been found impossible to obtain figures sufficient to warrant any certain conclusions. The officials seem, as a rule, to know but little definitely about the origin of the members of their Societies. But there is a general consensus of opinion that countrymen preponderate on the committees of such organizations, showing (if the opinion be true) that they supply the better or more energetic element.

Distribution of Immigrants among Trades and Employments.—If we pass on to the distribution of the immigrants among various trades and employments, the first industrial class which claims our notice is the great East End army of dock labourers.*

The London, St. Katharine's, West and East India, and the Millwall Docks, lie within the area of the Tower Hamlets. The main characteristics of the labour employed at each of these docks are the same, with the exception of the Millwall staff, which present peculiar features of their own. I have therefore taken the staff of the West and East India Docks as more or less typical of East London dock labour, and have analyzed in some detail the sources from which they are drawn.† As is described

* This chapter was written before the Dock Strike of 1889. The changes in the condition and organization of Dock Labour since then have been very great.

† I have to acknowledge the courtesy of Col. du Plat Taylor, C.B., the general manager of the East and West India Docks Co. who gave me much help in the matter, and also the kind co-operation of the Superintendents, Warehouse-keepers, and others at the Docks.

more fully in the chapter on the Docks, the staff of the West and East India Docks is divided into three classes, the regular staff, the "preferable" men, and the casuals. There is no very sharp distinction between the two latter classes, the preferable men being, in fact, merely the better casuals, who are in more regular employ.

The figures I have obtained for the casual and preferable labourers are of course not complete. Indeed, the precarious and fitful nature of employment of dock labourers precludes any attempt at exhaustive treatment. There are thousands of men, of the class of loafers and irregular labourers, who sometimes apply for work successfully or unsuccessfully at the dock gates, and who at other times pick up a livelihood by odd jobs, street hawking, toy making, &c., often going to Kent hopping in the summer. It is not fair to classify all these men as dock labourers because they now and then apply for a job. The labour market is here absolutely unorganized, and the labour itself, so far as any labour can be, is entirely unskilled.

It would seem that in almost every great centre of industry, there are one or more "residual" employments which stand as buffers between ordinary productive industry and the poor-house. They are the refuge of the members of other industries who have failed, whether from their fault or their misfortune. Those who congregate in such employments often overstep the line which separates them as an industrial grade from the class of paupers, but can rarely rise again into the ranks of productive, self-supporting regular labour. Into the causes which continually recruit these residual employments it is unnecessary to enter here, but as a fact they seem always to exist. In the centres of the worsted industry the residual employment is offered by the combing room and the dye-house. In East London it is offered by the Docks. It is surprising how quickly a man who is coming down in the world filters through all the grades of labour, till he arrives at the bottom

of all as a dock casual. I have found among the casuals a son of a solicitor, and an ex-valet of a well-known peer; and have been told by dock officials of the son of a general, a clergyman, and a baronet, who at various times picked up a living in this way. All types of men are represented in the crowd at the dock gate. There is a distinct class known to the gangers as "short time" men who will not work before 11 or after 4. They are a leisured class, who now and then are very useful, but will on no account begin early or work late. By 4 o'clock they can earn, at 5*d* an hour, all they want for the day, and no entreaty will keep them longer at work.

It would be interesting, if possible, to trace the former employments of dock labourers. A great number have been soldiers, a certain proportion were formerly shipwrights before iron shipping destroyed the market for their labour. Some have come down in the world through drink, having once held good positions in warehouses and offices. But I have only been able to get a complete account of previous employments in the case of the permanent staff, which of course represents a very different class, though in many cases they are really ex-casuals who have shown sufficient steadiness and capacity to be regularly taken on. Even here it will be seen on inspection that scarcely any of the permanent men were brought up to dock labour as an employment.

Casual dock labour, then, is typical of the irregular residual industries into which the thriftless, the incapable, and the unfortunate drift. It is thus very interesting to note how far its ranks are recruited from London-born and country-born sources respectively. Here the evidence, though necessarily partial, is, I think, conclusive.

Taking, the West India Dock only, we have the following figures obtained at considerable trouble by some of the gangers, who presumably know their men too well for wholesale deception. The facts were not obtained by a simultaneous census, but were gradually accumulated during

a whole month, and I have every reason to trust their general accuracy. They relate chiefly to the more regularly employed of the casuals, and include "preferables," but none of the permanent staff.

Of 514 men, 361, or 70 per cent., were born in London, and the remaining 153, or 30 per cent., were born elsewhere. In some of the returns preferables were separated from casuals. Thus, of 149 casuals, 95, or 64 per cent., were Londoners, and 54, or 36 per cent., non-Londoners, and of 120 preferables, 91, or 76 per cent., were Londoners, and 29, or 24 per cent., came from outside. These latter figures, however, clearly give too narrow a basis from which to generalize.

Taking the 153 outsiders, we may divide them according to the length of residence in the metropolis.

Under 1 year	1
1 to 5 years	3
5 to 10 „	14
10 to 20 „	28
20 and upwards	97
	153

The lesson of these figures can hardly be mistaken. If the men to whom they relate be fair samples of their class (the more generally employed dock casual), such labour is chiefly recruited from the ranks of Londoners, for 70 in every hundred were born in London, against 52 for the whole adult male population of East London and Hackney, or 46 for the whole of London. No perceptible "influx" sets towards the Docks, for the vast majority of the dock labourers born outside are practically Londoners, having lived for over 10 years in London, and most of them have probably been previously engaged in other trades in London itself.

The history of Irish employment at the West India Dock is interesting, if puzzling. The authorities say that a con-

siderable number of Irish used to be employed when sugar was imported in hogsheads. When hogsheads went out, the Irish element gradually dwindled. At the same time, a good many London-born Irish are employed (particularly at the London and St. Katharine's Docks), who of course are not distinguished in the returns of birth-places. There are practically no Jews in dock employ, and very few foreigners.

I have no definite figures for any but the West India Dock, but general inquiries lead me to regard the above figures as typical of all but the Millwall Dock. Here there seems to be a distinct excess of country-born labour, at all events as compared with the other docks. At Millwall large quantities of corn and timber are imported, and it seems that wherever grain is imported thither countrymen are attracted. More than one reason has been assigned for this. It is heavy work, demanding physical strength in which countrymen excel, and the influence of the country millers is said to tell in securing employment for country folk. The superintendents at the West and East India Docks tell me that when they began to import flour, some countrymen who had been in mills applied for work and were taken on. Another, and probably the chief, reason for the excess of countrymen at Millwall, is to be found in an importation of countrymen which took place in the course of a labour dispute some years ago, to fill the places of the strikers. In any case, there is no doubt of the fact which makes a considerable mark in the Census returns of that district.

Before turning to the permanent staff, there is another class which requires analysis—viz., the stevedores who are engaged in the export trade. These men are quite independent of the Dock Company, but they nevertheless belong to a class of labour somewhat similar to that employed by the Docks, though a good deal more skilled, as

it requires more care and skill to load than to unload a ship. I have succeeded, through the Stevedores' Union, in getting an estimate of the proportion of Londoners to outsiders among the whole of those who are generally employed in this industry. I say *generally* employed, for it seems that a great many dock or waterside labourers also call themselves stevedores, because they assist in loading steamers in the river. There are about 8600 stevedores proper engaged in the port of London, exclusive of Tilbury Dock, and of these about 75 per cent. are estimated to be Londoners by birth. A large proportion of the remainder are Irish, and a great number of the Londoners are of Irish nationality, being in fact the descendants of the Irishmen who flocked to the Thames in the year of the famine, and who have ever since had a grip on waterside work.

Thus casual dock labour, being of the nature of a residual employment and not a class, includes specimens of all classes and natives of all parts. In the main, however, it is a *London* employment, and countrymen only filter into it in small numbers after many years of residence in the metropolis. In the departments requiring special strength (*e.g.* the unloading of grain) the country element is in excess.

But if the country supplies to some extent the cream of dock labour it also supplies the dregs. There is a certain class of countrymen (small in number) who furnish the very worst class of dock labour. These are the professional tramps who turn up at years' intervals. One of these came the other day to the West India Dock after two years' absence, saying he had walked 1800 miles in the interval. He is now off again.

For the regular staff at the East and West India Docks fuller particulars can be given. The following figures apply to the labour staff of the East and West India Docks and the Town Warehouses.

Birthplaces.	Number.	Percentage.
LONDON :—		
East London and Hackney	118	42·75
Other parts	32	11·59
Unspecified	44	15·94
Total London	194	70·28
OTHER PARTS OF ENGLAND AND WALES :—		
Middlesex (extra met.)	4	1·45
Surrey ,,	4	1·45
Kent ,,	8	2·90
Essex	14	5·07
Norfolk	6	2·19
Buckingham	4	1·45
Somerset	4	1·45
Hampshire	3	1·08
Suffolk	3	1·08
Lincoln, Devon, Yorkshire, Stafford (2 each)	8	2·90
Berks, Northampton, Oxford, Monmouth, Sussex, Wilts, Warwick, Notts, Lancashire, Bedford, Cornwall (1 each)	11	3·98
Total other parts of England and Wales	69	25·00
SCOTLAND	6	2·19
IRELAND	4	1·45
ABROAD	3	1·08
	13	4·72
Total Staff for whom particulars were given	276	100

Here the distinctly London element is no less predominant than among the casuals, which is perhaps explicable by the fact that the permanent staff are largely selected from among the casuals who have been long in dock employ. This is well brought out in the accompanying table of the length of residence in London of those born outside.

Under 1 year	0
1 to 5 years	2
5 to 10 ,,	3
10 to 20 ,,	20
Over 20 ,,	57
	82

I may draw attention to the fact that of the sixty-nine members of the staff who have come into London from other parts of England a large proportion come from almost purely agricultural counties. The diversity of previous occupations of the permanent labour staff at the docks is so remarkable that the table is worth giving in full. The following figures apply only to the West India Dock and the town warehouses.

Former Occupations of Permanent Labourers.

Army	15
Police	2
Post Office	6
Clerks	5
Sailors	18
Chief mates, marines, ship stewards, and other seafaring men	9
Omnibus men, carriers, and carmen	7
Porters, warehousemen, and messengers	29
Artisans and mechanics (of 28 distinct occupations)	43
Engine and machine minders	3
Labourers	35
Tradesmen (butchers, bakers, grocers, chemists, &c.)	17
Shop assistants	3
Street sellers	2
Domestic servants (butlers, grooms, &c.)	8
Barmen and waiters	7
Lodging-house keeper	1
From School	4
Total for whom particulars were given	214

It will be seen that almost the whole of the staff have passed into dock employ through other employments—another proof of the "residual" character of the industry.

The last set of statistics I have to offer relate to *age* of the permanent labourers at the West India Dock and Town Warehouses. The importance of these figures will be evident, in order to further clear up the question of the mode in which the supply of dock labour is kept up. If we find the majority of those employed to be of middle age or upwards, it is clear that the employment in question is not

a trade to which youths are brought up, but is rather one to which for many reasons they resort in after life from other trades.

Table of Ages.

Age.	Born in London.	Born outside London.
20 and under	11	0
20—30	34	10
30—40	54	25
40—50	46	18
50—60	18	9
60—70	8	6

A great part of the work of the dock labourer consists not of the mere unloading of vessels, but of labour essentially the same as that carried on in various independent warehouses in other parts of East London. Thus it may be interesting to analyze the sources from which the wool warehousemen are drawn, as representing a cognate form of unskilled labour of a slightly higher grade, in so far as a better class of men are attracted by the greater regularity of work. I have particulars of 602 warehousemen, employed in various warehouses.

	Permanent.	Casual	Total.	Percentage.
London	46	298	344	57
England and Wales	28	153	258	43
Scotland		11		
Ireland		66		
	74	528	602	100

The other waterside employment on the Thames can only be dealt with in very general terms. Members of decaying trades like the shipwrights, who form a very close and exclusive corporation, are chiefly London born, so also are the barge builders whose union declines, with few exceptions, to admit to its ranks any one who has not served his time on the Thames.

Wherever heavy muscular work is required, as in tne coal trade, a large proportion of the labourers are country born.

Information about other occupations is meagre enough. No one seems to know anything precise, and it is impossible for the most part to obtain more than mere guesses.

The employments most overrun by countrymen seem to be the building trades, and this partly because of the physical strength they require, partly by reason of the excessive division of labour in London, which makes "all-round" men who have there learned their trade comparatively rare. Country immigrants are hence preferred especially as foremen. I have been told that there is a majority of countrymen in all of the trades connected with building except plasterers. The only actual figures which I have obtained are those relating to the Co-operative Builders at Camberwell, a district outside our area. Nevertheless, the figures may be given for what they are worth, though too much stress must not be laid on them.*

	Born in London.	Out of London.	Total.
Gasfitters	3	4	7
Bricklayers	0	3	3
Brick Labourers	0	9	9
Carpenters	2	7	9
Plumbers	3	2	5
Plumbers' Labourers	3	2	5
Plasterers	8	1	9
Masons	2	4	6
Joiners	3	13	16
	24	45	69

These figures show a great preponderance of outsiders,

* Since this was written, confirmatory evidence has been forthcoming from an analysis of the birth-places of the members of a Branch of the Operative Bricklayers' Society.

who amount to 65·2 per cent. of the whole. The discrepancy is greatest among the bricklayers, carpenters, and joiners, though the numbers are too small for purposes of generalization. A great proportion of the country contingent come from the western and home counties. Of the 45 immigrants, 26 have come into London within the last 20 years, and 6 within the last 5 years.

Many painters come from the country to obtain work in the spring, returning home when the season is over.

The cabinet-making and furniture trades are probably more overrun by foreigners than by countrymen, though there are but few facilities for thoroughly learning the trade in London, and hence all-round cabinet-makers are chiefly trained for London in the Provinces.

The secretary of the Compositors' Union says that in this industry the country immigrants, as a rule, excel the native Londoner. They are steadier, and stick better to the organization. Only a small percentage of the members of the London Union served their time in London.

Again, a great proportion of members of the East End branches of the Ironmoulders' Union are said by the secretary to be countrymen by birth.

Turning to the boot and shoe trade, which is described separately in Mr. Schloss's article, we find that comparatively few boys are brought up to the factory industry in East London, which is largely carried on by immigrants from the provinces. I have already alluded to the season circulation of labour between London and the provincial towns, such as Leicester and Norwich. Besides this, it is said that there has lately been a movement of London labour to Northampton and elsewhere, following a transfer of factory industry out of the sphere of the London Trades Unions. Of course, the low-class boot trade, carried on under what is called the "Sweating System," is largely recruited by the immigration of foreign Jews.

BAYERISCHE STAATS- BIBLIOTHEK MUENCHEN

The secretary of the Cigar Makers' Mutual Association says that there is a small proportion of the women employed in the trade who came from the provinces. No serious complaint is made of the influx. Here again, a whole section of the tobacco trade, as is seen from the chapter on the subject, is in the hands of foreigners, especially the old-established Dutch Jews of Spitalfields.

A very great amount of country labour is employed upon the railways, and generally in the service of the railway companies, who draw largely on the Eastern Counties for their employés.

Countrymen also abound on the roads as carriers, omnibus drivers, &c. A man in the employ of the London General Omnibus Company tells me that three-fourths of the staff came originally from the country. Statements of percentages by individuals are as a rule worthless, except as indicating a widespread opinion among those employed, so I attach no importance to the actual figures, but it is clear that we have here a large country-born element. My informant's father had been the driver of a coach in Herefordshire : he himself had driven the coach when young, but the extension of railways had gradually made the coach unprofitable, the government mails were sent by another route, and finally the coach ceased to run, and the son came up to London. This was twenty-seven years ago, or more, and ever since he has been an omnibus driver. He finds London streets less monotonous and more interesting than the country roads. How far shrinkage of employment on the country roads has helped to swell London, it is hard to say ; it is probable, however, that the case I have described is typical of many others. But the great attraction which the London roads present is the higher rate of pay. The weekly wages paid by the London General Omnibus Company are considerably higher than in the provinces, and though the hours are longer, this fact does not counterbalance the seeming advantage offered by

high wages. The General Manager of the Company is of opinion that most of his staff have been in London for many years, some preliminary knowledge of the streets being necessary.

The Manager of the London Road Car Company gives me as his impression that about half their staff come from the country.

Perhaps the greatest piece of contract work now being carried on in East London is the erection of the Tower Bridge. With reference to the labour here employed the contractor supplies me with the following information. The greater proportion of the skilled mechanics come from the North. A large number of these, it is true, have been employed in different places under the same contractor and have followed him to London, being more or less permanently employed by him. But, at the beginning of the work, the proportion of Londoners was considerably greater than at present. Many were taken on at first, but were soon found unprofitable workmen, or at least inferior to the Northerners. In the opinion of those who have the enterprise in hand, this is universally the case; a man from London does not stick to his work so well as a man from Sheffield or the Tyne, and may be roughly said to be one-third less productive. No exact record of the places from which labourers come is kept, as men are taken on without recommendation, but there is no doubt of the inferiority of London labour, as indeed of that of any capital city. In the case of the navvies, the answer is not so clear, as the navvy is always more or less a vagrant. They are mostly from the country, but many come from Essex, Hertfordshire, and other counties immediately round London.

In concluding this scattered notice of the trades I should perhaps say definitely that I regard the information I have been able to collect as of very unequal degrees of accuracy, and except where actual figures are given, a good deal of it has but slight statistical value.

Foreign Immigration.

Distribution of Foreigners.—If East London has less than its proportionate mixture of country ingredients, the deficiency is partly compensated by the excess of foreigners. London is the great centre in England of the foreign resident population, and Whitechapel is the great centre of the foreign population of London. It is not the least interesting of the features that make the Whitechapel Road the most varied and interesting in England, that amid the crowds that jostle each other on the pavement, or gather in eager groups round the flaring lights of the costermonger's barrow, the fancy shows, and the shooting saloons of the great trunk artery of East London, the observant wanderer may note the high cheek-bones and thickened lips of the Russian or Polish Jew, the darker complexion and unmistakable nose of his Austrian co-religionist, and here and there, perhaps, a group of men with dusky faces and Eastern attire, who have wandered up from the docks, along the Commercial Road, and are piloting themselves timidly among the unaccustomed crowds, their scarlet fez caps and flowing robes adding a dash of colour and a flavour of orientalism to the busy scene.

Or if we wander down into the maze of streets and quaint waterside nooks of Shadwell High Street and Ratcliff Highway, we may chance to find John Chinaman leaning against the shop-door, or ministering to the wants of his Asiatic customers. If we step inside, and take care not to alarm him, we may find entrance to an opium den, where some twenty or thirty Celestials or Malays are dreaming over their pipes. The neighbourhood of Limehouse Walk is perhaps the best, or worst, place to find these haunts, but the halo of romance that once hung around them from associations with Edwin Drood has well-nigh faded since the den from which the great master of description drew the materials for his picture of opium-smoking in his last

EAST LONDON AND HACKNEY.

Proportion of population of EAST LONDON & HACKNEY, BORN ABROAD (1881).

Registrar's Districts are named.
..... „ ..... Sub-districts are numbered in agreement with the Census Tables 1881.

* Includes all persons born in foreign Countries and in British Colonies and dependencies.

HACKNEY
1 2 3 4 5

SHOREDITCH
4 3 5

BETHNAL GREEN
1 2 3 4

WHITECHAPEL
1 2 3 4 5 6

ST GEORGE IN THE EAST
1 2 3

MILE END OLD TOWN
1 2

STEPNEY
1 2 3

POPLAR
1 2

RIVER THAMES

Per 1000
0 _ 15
15 _ 30 +
30 _ 50
50 _ 70
70 _ 120 (does not occur)
120 _ 140
161
188

\+ 27-5 Average for all London.

1 ¾ ½ ¼ 0 1 MILE

Stanford's Geogl Estabt

EAST LONDON AND HACKNEY.

Proportion of population of EAST LONDON & HACKNEY, BORN OUTSIDE LONDON.

Registrar's Districts are named.
..... „ ..... Sub-districts are numbered in agreement with the Census Tables 1881.



Stanford's Geog.l Estab.t

romance, has been improved away to make room for a new Board School.

If, however, we judged of the magnitude of the foreign element in East London by such glimpses as these, we should fall into error. If we except the great immigration of foreign Jews, due to special causes, we shall find that a considerable proportion of the remaining foreigners are congregated in a fringe along the river, and on glancing at the tables of occupations of foreigners in the rough sheets of the Census, they are seen to be sailors. We may take it for granted that where the number of females bears but a very small proportion to that of males, especially in a riverside district, the foreigners so indicated do not form a permanent part of the population, but are mostly brought there by their connection with the Port of London. The figures for the district round the West and East India and Millwall Docks show 279 Swedes, besides 38 Spaniards, 30 Italians, and 25 Danes, of whom only 24 (all Swedes) were women.

The map facing this page shows the proportion of foreign born residents in the various parts of East London and Hackney. The numbers are taken so as to include those born in British dependencies and colonies and naturalized British subjects born abroad. Thus it is a map of birth-places, and not of nationalities. The tables on which the map is based are given on p. 113. The map which follows shows the distribution of persons in East London and Hackney born outside London, whether in other parts of the United Kingdom or abroad. The chief point that will be noticed on comparing the three maps is the extent to which the streams of immigration from the country and abroad are supplementary the one to the other. Thus the last map is on the whole more evenly coloured than either of the others.

According to the Census, the Tower Hamlets contained in 1881, 21,469 foreign (or colonial)-born residents, of whom 17,576 were actual foreigners, or about 5 per cent. and 4 per

cent. of the population respectively. The whole district of East London and Hackney contained 27,514 foreign-born, of whom 21,077 were actual foreigners, or $3\frac{1}{4}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total population. The corresponding percentages for the whole of London were $2\frac{3}{4}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$. It is probable, however, from an examination of the figures, that the Census returns give too *low* a number of foreigners, who, especially in the poorer quarters, would be unlikely to understand how to fill up a Census paper correctly.

Germany is by far the largest contributor to the foreign population of London, and East London is no exception, as will be seen from the tables on p. 112. There is no district in East London without a large contingent of German inhabitants. But Poland runs it hard, and in Whitechapel has a large majority. The Poles differ from the Germans in being concentrated in a small area. In Spitalfields alone 1454 Poles were recorded in 1881, and in Mile End New Town there were 1425, mostly engaged in tailoring and boot-making. In all, Whitechapel contained 4468 Poles out of a total of less than 6000 in the Tower Hamlets. The Germans, on the other hand, are far more evenly scattered. The nortn part of St. George's-in-the-East was in 1881 the chief centre of German population, then largely engaged in sugar baking and refining, but also in many miscellaneous trades. There are also a large number of Germans in the western sub-district of Mile End Old Town.

The Dutch are chiefly conglomerated in a comparatively small district in Spitalfields, where they are largely engaged in cigar making. These are mostly Jews, but the colony is a longer established one than that of the Polish Jews, as is shown both by the proportion of males to females, and a comparison of numbers with older census returns. A thousand of this birth and nationality were recorded, in 1881, in three of the Census collectors' books alone in the district of Spitalfields, out of a total of 1850 in the

whole of Whitechapel, and no less than half of these were then engaged in the cigar making. The foreign element dwindles as we depart from the centre of Whitechapel in all directions. The immediately contiguous parts of Mile End, Bethnal Green and St. George's-in-the-East, show a considerable though smaller contingent of foreigners, and this is, of course, natural, as the boundary lines are entirely arbitrary. When we get a short distance away the abnormal features vanish, Poles, Russians, and Dutch appear no more in any considerable numbers, and the foreign population consists chiefly of Germans as in the rest of London. Three-quarters of the foreigners in Shoreditch are Germans. Frenchmen are everywhere conspicuous by their absence. All this information dates from 1881. Since then, however, new and abnormal factors have entered in to disturb the calculation.

Influx of Jews.—In 1881 and 1882 there was an outburst of persecution in Russia directed against the Jews. Fleeing from that country, they settled, some in England, others in Austria, while many travelled as far as the United States. In Austria their settlements were soon broken up, and in greater numbers than before they invaded England, sometimes to remain in London, but in more cases making England a half-way house to America. And then, in 1884, came the edict of Prince Bismarck, which drove the Poles from Prussia. All these causes have introduced a new element into the Jewish colony in London. The newcomers have gradually replaced the English population in whole districts which were formerly outside the Jewish quarter. Formerly in Whitechapel, Commercial Street roughly divided the Jewish haunts of Petticoat Lane and Goulston Street from the rougher English quarter lying to the east. Now the Jews have flowed across this line; Hanbury Street, Fashion Street, Pelham Street, Booth Street, Old Montague Street, and many other streets and lanes and alleys have fallen before them; they fill whole

blocks of model dwellings; they have introduced new trades as well as new habits, and they live and crowd together, and work and meet their fate almost independent of the great stream of London life surging round them. Their effect on the wages, standard of living, and general sanitary and social conditions of the people among whom they have settled is discussed in the next chapter and in Vol. IV. A few words, however, might be said here about their numbers. The number of Jews, and of foreign Jews resident in East London, and the volume of the annual addition to the number, is a matter of some difficulty to decide, and has been the subject of keen and not altogether dispassionate dispute. I shall first give the materials for an estimate so far as I am acquainted with them. It should be noted that Census returns refer only to birthplaces and not to religion, so no *direct* aid is given by them.

In 1858 the *Jewish Chronicle* estimated the number of Jews in London at 27,000. The next estimate is that in 1864 by the brothers Mayhew in "London Labour and the London Poor," where the number is set down at 18,000 but this is apparently a mere guess and is clearly far below the truth. In 1871 the Statistical Committee of the Jewish Board of Guardians reported the number of Jewish funerals in London in 1869 to have been 800. Taking, then, the ordinary metropolitan death-rate, we arrive at an estimate of about 35,000. In 1883 the *Jewish Chronicle* gave an official estimate of 25,000 English and 21,000 foreign Jews, of whom 7000 English and 18,000 foreign Jews were reported as poor. They also calculated the total addition of foreign poor in 20 years as 15,000. Next we have Mr. Lionel Alexander's estimate of 45,000 for the year 1885, based on the death-rate.

High authorities consider the burial figures the best statistical basis for a calculation of the number of Jews in East London. But a difficulty is created by the

fact that the population in question is not in a stationary and normal condition, but has been continually augmented by a stream of immigrants among whom individuals of all ages are not likely to be represented in their due proportions. For example, there are but few infants among the immigrants when they arrive in this country, yet infant mortality has a very important effect on the death-rate. The new-comers are in fact of selected ages, the majority being between 20 and 50. Without further information it is almost impossible to estimate the death-rate for a population composed of elements such as these. Certainly the crude expedient of taking the death-rate to be that of the whole metropolis is far from satisfactory, and the same objection applies to estimates based on the marriage-rates. But Dr. Adler has recently supplied Mr. Mocatta with an estimate based jointly on the marriage and death-rates. It will be seen on close examination that the influx affects these two percentages in opposite senses, so that a calculation based on a combination of the two, is more likely to be correct than if deduced from either separately. In this way Dr. Adler arrives at the much higher estimate of 70,000 Jews in the whole of London.

Lastly, an entirely new basis from which to calculate the number of Jews is afforded by the statistics of Jewish schools published in an appendix to the first report of the Lords' Committee on the Sweating System.*

Jewish Children in Elementary Schools.

	Born abroad.	Not born abroad.	Total.
East London	2763	6757	9520
Other parts of London	69	533	602
Total.....	2832	7290	10122

* The return, as published in the Blue Book, is incorrect, as no column is given for children of English-born parents. In many of the schools we

Now, the method used by the Education Department to ascertain the number of children of school age in a large district, is to divide the population by 6. Thus the ordinary rule for finding the population is to multiply by 6 the number of school children, which would give a total Jewish population in London of 60,732, and of 57,120 in the East End.

This calculation, like that from the number of deaths, is affected by the stream of immigration with its abnormal proportion of adults, and is thrown out still further by the shorter period of school age usual among East End Jews as compared to that which obtains in our own schools. In the Jews Free School, out of nearly 3,000 children, there were in June, 1888, only 48 under 7, and only 382 over 11, whereas in an ordinary Elementary School of the same size the number over and under these ages would be about 800 and 600 respectively. These considerations must out-weigh the greater size of Jewish families. We conclude then that this method of reckoning will give over 60,000, and possibly as many as 70,000, in so far confirming the calculation from the death and marriage rate combined. Of this number more than nine-tenths are living in the East End.

Our estimate of the proportion of those who are foreign born must be made in rather a different way.

Clearly it will not do to multiply the foreign-born children by 6, or even 7, because many English-born children have foreign-born parents who would not be counted in. Nevertheless we may take the number of foreign-born children as *representative* of a certain foreign-born population if we can find the proper number by which to multiply them; but to find the multiplier is not easy. We have to go back to the treasure house of the 1861 Census to get any figures which can be of much use. We find that in 1861

find from direct inquiry that such children were actually counted in among the "English-born children of foreign parents." In the Jews Free School, however, they were not so counted, and I have consequently had to amend the return by adding 541 children to the second column.

the proportion of foreign-born children between 5 and 15 to the total number of foreign-born Russians and Poles was less than one in 10, and assuming that the number of children aged 14 and 15 was not out of proportion, the children between 5 and 13 would be about one in 12 or 13. At one in 12 we should have about 34,000 foreign Jews in London, or about 33,000 in the East End.* This figure is, like that of Dr. Adler, larger than is commonly supposed. I cannot pretend that the bases of any of the calculations given are entirely satisfactory. It may, however, be said generally that there are at least 60,000 Jews in East London, and that about half of them are foreign-born.

Their numbers until recently have been rapidly increasing by immigration. The current has now stopped, or rather the balance has turned—the emigration carried out by the Jewish Board of Guardians and the Russian Committee having now for some time more than balanced the inflow. This emigration has been on a very great scale for many years, and according to the best estimate I can make has sent away not less than half as many as have reached our shores. About 5500 "cases," probably representing 12,000 individuals, were emigrated by the Russian Committee and the Jewish Board of Guardians in the six years 1881-6 and there has in addition been a considerable voluntary emigration.

An estimate of increase in the number of East London Jews has been made according to the suggestion of Mr. Giffen (in his evidence before the Committee on immigration) based upon the increase (rather more than 40 per cent.) in the cases relieved by the Jewish Board of Guardians between 1881-1886. Taking the population at 60,000 in 1886 this calculation would point to an increase of 17,000 in the six years, and this number, plus the number emigrated

* An element which may tend to affect the calculation reducing the number is the altered character of the influx since 1881, which may have disturbed the proportion of children to adults among the immigrants.

and minus the excess of births over deaths, would give the number of arrivals. The excess may be put at about 4000, and if the total numbers sent away may be put at 17,000 we should have a total of 30,000 arrivals. This figure is most likely an over estimate, as the increase of applications for relief undoubtedly represents an increase in the foreign element rather than in the Jewish population as a whole.

We turn next to the alien lists. These are lists which captains of ships entering at the port of London are required to furnish of the aliens on board their vessels under an old Act of William IV. The Act applies nominally to the whole country, but is completely obsolete, excepting so far as regards London, Hull, and one or two other ports. Here the lists are still handed in, and filed at the Home Office, but they are never checked, and are so loosely made out that a whole family is often returned as only one person. The returns have never been referred to for many years, except once during the Tichborne trial, until Mr. Fox hit on the idea of utilizing them to test the volume of Jewish immigration. His method was to separate Jews from Gentiles by their names, but though Moses and Abraham are well on one side of the line, and Smith and Robinson on the other, there is a doubtful fringe of names between, which adds a new element of uncertainty to the calculation. The figures have been tabulated for only three years.

1885—2348
1886—3089 } 7293 total Jewish immigration.
1887—1856

Now, it seems to be universally admitted that 1882-3 were the great years of the influx, and that it has perceptibly slackened in the last three years, with the exception of an increase in 1886, due to a partial revival of persecutions. Hence we may reasonably suppose that the total for the three previous years was considerably greater than that for the last three, and bearing also in mind how largely the numbers given in the alien lists must be below the

mark owing to the method of keeping them, we shall be justified in estimating the number of Jewish immigrants for the six years as at least 20,000.

As the first method gives a safe maximum so the second method gives an equally safe minimum. Between the two figures, 30,000 and 20,000 for the immigration of six years, the truth must lie, and we shall not be far wrong if we assume the gross influx to have been on an average about 4000 a year; falling from 5000 or 6000 in the earlier years to 2000 or 3000 in the later years.

Since 1886, immigration has rapidly decreased, until at the present time it has practically ceased. This is clearly shown by the following figures, tabulated for me by Mr. Finsong, an agent of the Hebrew Ladies' Protection Society, the business of whose life is to meet all ships with aliens on board at the docks, and all alien passengers from Gravesend at Fenchurch Street Station. This is the result from December 19th, 1888, to March 14th, 1889:

	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
Arrived	90	44	39	173
Passed on to U.S.A....	41	25	21	87
Remained in London	49	19	18	86

Meanwhile a considerably larger number have been emigrated by the agency of the Jewish Board and the Russian Committee: so that altogether the volume of emigration now exceeds that of immigration. I myself saw a company of between 30 and 40 Polish Jews leaving this country for their Eastern homes one day in December last. Eighty-six was the nett gain by immigration for the twelve weeks including that day. January, however, is always the slackest month in the year for immigration, so that no hasty generalization should be made from these figures. Nevertheless, we may say, with some confidence, that the flood is at an end for the time.*

* The revival of Jewish persecution in Russia has since caused a fresh increase in the amount of immigration (1892).

Conclusion.

The movement of the Jewish immigrants, when once absorbed into London, is, as is noted in the chapter on East End Tailoring, a movement upwards from below. This is in sharp distinction to the movement of the influx from the country. The characteristics of the Jew which make for success, his persistency, his adaptability, his elastic standard of comfort are discussed elsewhere. Jewish London is kept down by the foreign element with the standard of living and cleanliness of Warsaw drifting in from below, afterwards to be transformed into industrious citizens. English London is kept up in bone and sinew and energy by the country element pouring in from above—afterwards to be transformed into waste.

It is the result of the conditions of life in great towns, and especially in this the greatest town of all, that muscular strength and energy get gradually used up; the second generation of Londoner is of lower physique and has less power of persistent work than the first, and the third generation (where it exists) is lower than the second.

A certain proportion—the weak, the shiftless, the improvident (and of these many are born daily into the world)—are deposited every year from the ranks of labour, and form a kind of sediment at the bottom of the social scale.

To speak of these men as elbowed out by in-comers is an abuse of language. The work that the country immigrant does is what they might like to be paid for performing, but certainly not what they could perform. To replace the country labourers at Millwall by gangs of the London unemployed might mean the transfer of the import trade to

other docks. If we must use a metaphor, though metaphors are usually misleading, I should rather liken the process to a suction from within, than a pressure from without—a vacuum created by the process of precipitation and filled by an influx from around.

Whatever loss to society may be implied by the drain of countrymen into London, it is no loss to London itself. It is a vivifying, not a death-bringing stream. We may cry "London for the English" if we will: he would be rash indeed who cried "London for the Londoner."

Appendix-Tables to Chapter II.

Number and Country of Birth of persons of foreign birth and nationality enumerated in Registration Districts of East London and Hackney, 1881.

	Whitechapel	St. George's-in-the-East	Stepney	Mile End Old Town	Poplar	Shoreditch	Bethnal Green	Hackney	Total
Russia	835	164	22	136	59	30	57	29	1332
Poland	4458	402	8	757	33	83	197	26	5964
Sweden and Norway.....	68	152	50	18	297	19	2	43	649
Denmark	19	23	17	8	52	11	8	29	167
Holland	1850	243	40	379	70	41	65	182	2870
Belgium.....	37	65	8	72	14	13	5	66	280
France	116	23	77	49	101	54	36	173	629
Germany	1805	1493	326	1212	659	708	451	929	7583
Austria-Hungary	224	77	12	117	19	40	14	58	561
Switzerland	15	7	1	9	9	22	3	51	117
Spain and Portugal	11	12	19	5	43	6	5	24	125
Italy	16	29	15	5	37	29	21	29	181
Greece	3	13	1	1	12	1	—	9	40
Turkey and Roumania.....	9	4	—	7	6	4	9	8	47
China.....	2	—	35	—	35	—	—	3	75
Others in Asia	—	17	3	1	—	—	1	2	24
Africa.....	8	—	3	2	—	—	3	1	17
United States	170	35	64	85	109	60	43	120	686
Others in America	3	6	4	2	22	—	3	21	61
Country not stated	6	—	3	—	1	—	1	—	11
Born at Sea	5	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	7
Total	9660	2765	708	2865	1578	1121	925	1804	21,426

Number of Persons born out of the United Kingdom living in the various Sub-Registration Districts of East London and Hackney, 1881.

Sub-Registration Districts.	Born in the British Colonies and Dependencies.	Born in Foreign Countries.		Total	Percentage of Population
		British Subjects	Foreigners		
Spitalfields	41	241	3455	3737	16·15
Mile End New Town	19	41	2034	2094	13·53
Whitechapel, North	13	36	1318	1367	13·67
Whitechapel Church	38	86	836	960	12·82
Goodman's Fields	26	58	1747	1831	18·85
Aldgate	84	32	270	386	6·32
St. Mary	39	208	2020	2267	12·46
St. Paul	73	235	605	913	4·43
St. John	57	92	140	289	3·44
Shadwell	53	124	236	413	4·08
Ratcliff	58	51	137	246	1·52
Limehouse	106	120	335	561	1·75
MileEndOld Town(Westn.)	91	163	2255	2509	6·6
Do. do. (Eastern)	167	304	610	1081	1·6
Bow	111	148	235	494	1·33
Bromley	214	274	328	816	1·27
Poplar	304	186	1015	1505	2·73
Holywell	20	24	226	270	3·66
St. Leonards	21	36	127	184	1·23
Hoxton New Town	55	119	316	490	1·63
Hoxton Old Town	29	48	193	270	0·96
Haggerston	74	94	259	427	0·92
Hackney Road	42	74	176	292	0·98
Bethnal Green	98	154	298	550	1·15
Do. Church	41	45	146	232	0·77
Do. Town	28	37	305	370	1·97
Stamford Hill	83	47	34	164	1·77
West Hackney	165	190	421	776	2·06
Hackney	428	322	763	1513	1·97
South Hackney	130	140	327	597	1·50
	2708	3729	21,167	27,604	3·21

Table A.—Showing birthplaces of persons, not Londoners, born in other parts of the United Kingdom, who were living in the under-noted Sub-Registration Districts in 1881.

County of Birth.	Whitechapel.						St. George's-in-the-East.			Stepney.			Mile End Old Town.		Poplar.		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	1	2	3
	Spitalfields.	Mile End New Town.	Whitechapel, North.	Whitechapel Church.	Goodman's Fields.	Aldgate.	St. Mary.	St. Paul.	St. John.	Shadwell.	Ratcliff.	Limehouse.	Western.	Eastern.	Bow.	Bromley.	Poplar.
Population 1881.....	22585	15473	10001	7489	9713	6102	18125	20622	8410	10395	16107	32041	37960	67653	37074	64359	55077
South Eastern Counties—																	
Surrey (Extra-Metropolitan)	101	124	47	62	47	41	90	136	72	64	120	181	243	418	247	508	343
Kent ,, ,,	197	117	90	108	106	138	130	315	120	213	320	811	592	1284	634	1701	1965
Sussex	94	69	28	47	33	35	62	76	59	37	79	143	195	303	204	232	398
Hampshire	104	69	66	64	52	56	72	141	47	129	125	320	309	497	269	803	886
Berkshire	62	51	28	28	27	37	23	56	27	25	29	120	136	252	143	277	186
South Midland Counties—																	
Middlesex (Extra-Metropolitan.....	371	333	151	301	119	59	248	263	38	72	384	881	683	899	591	783	593
Hertfordshire	69	76	24	48	23	18	49	87	30	49	67	175	205	448	304	518	274
Buckinghamshire	41	38	25	21	16	19	37	42	50	24	97	108	123	171	186	344	217
Oxfordshire	29	17	18	34	15	19	21	26	14	17	42	58	96	139	98	142	135
Northamptonshire	61	20	16	14	6	15	27	25	11	16	37	84	100	195	111	222	133
Huntingdonshire.....	6	20	7	8	6	4	11	22	6	10	7	39	41	82	39	92	55
Bedfordshire	28	18	9	18	11	3	22	41	6	23	28	60	67	138	112	303	181
Cambridgeshire	96	117	45	25	24	14	26	58	32	23	56	168	214	462	242	542	298
Eastern Counties—																	
Essex.....	399	300	219	232	132	97	303	446	209	285	472	1008	1153	2806	1876	3879	2241
Suffolk	115	102	70	87	55	56	75	162	45	105	161	348	570	889	489	975	808
Norfolk.....	129	118	41	59	45	48	84	158	64	127	142	305	442	840	484	954	727
South Western Counties—																	
Wiltshire	41	20	23	21	22	23	32	44	23	28	52	93	161	208	116	308	215
Dorsetshire	24	17	10	15	13	15	19	30	16	29	47	86	121	151	111	225	408
Devonshire	92	85	42	121	51	69	133	213	82	105	163	350	453	609	373	837	855
Cornwall	27	14	11	23	16	21	21	70	22	31	74	166	118	170	127	334	247
Somersetshire	91	34	48	34	32	52	78	81	35	46	81	147	197	346	243	509	371
West Midland Counties—																	
Gloucestershire	85	27	19	24	27	41	40	110	32	62	79	168	192	314	198	421	411

Herefordshire	7	3	6	4	9	4	10	12	4	9	12	19	25	43	35	44	58
Shropshire	15	9	8	6	1	14	5	9	3	12	12	15	25	56	25	36	47
Staffordshire	36	15	13	18	17	18	13	20	17	10	31	87	63	118	105	197	323
Worcestershire	9	10	8	2	3	20	7	21	1	16	6	32	31	57	58	113	106
Warwickshire	128	69	36	54	36	195	59	76	18	17	44	106	144	301	255	361	196
North Midland Counties—																	
Leicestershire	25	19	7	14	16	13	11	9	7	6	14	19	44	63	29	92	85
Rutlandshire	2	—	—	1	—	1	—	2	—	—	1	8	6	9	5	12	5
Lincolnshire	40	19	22	20	25	18	24	41	42	30	55	77	98	175	136	276	205
Nottinghamshire	19	19	10	7	5	3	12	14	7	6	7	34	22	57	61	78	50
Derbyshire	9	4	4	5	6	8	8	8	6	8	16	33	27	45	36	85	95
North Western Counties—																	
Cheshire	21	4	6	5	2	9	7	6	6	6	7	22	32	56	36	89	90
Lancashire	225	77	59	47	64	49	80	80	50	34	79	151	161	351	223	484	488
Yorkshire	111	50	52	45	41	45	83	93	69	65	109	201	203	343	237	455	595
Northern Counties—																	
Durham	25	8	12	5	19	10	26	65	18	50	82	161	68	140	91	314	459
Northumberland	31	21	11	15	12	10	46	38	22	23	37	96	91	98	57	255	298
Cumberland	4	1	2	4	—	4	3	7	2	3	7	17	19	29	24	46	47
Westmoreland	1	1	2	—	—	—	—	3	1	1	2	3	1	5	7	12	5
Monmouthshire and Wales—																	
Monmouthshire	15	4	4	8	1	6	6	15	6	1	6	23	19	26	27	66	62
Glamorganshire	15	3	3	7	10	7	15	11	3	14	21	40	28	42	18	67	66
Carmarthenshire	5	1	1	3	—	—	1	1	—	2	6	6	7	9	5	13	12
Pembrokeshire	1	4	3	5	3	3	9	4	1	4	7	16	9	17	20	57	76
Cardiganshire	14	1	—	1	2	6	6	18	2	4	6	16	31	23	12	26	24
Brecknockshire	—	1	1	3	2	4	1	2	6	—	—	4	5	11	9	8	19
Radnorshire	1	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	4	2	2	4
Montgomeryshire	2	4	1	1	—	1	—	3	—	1	1	5	7	11	6	8	11
Flintshire	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	3	—	—	3	8	2	5	5	3	17
Denbighshire	—	1	3	—	—	1	3	3	—	—	3	1	3	5	7	9	12
Merionethshire	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	4	—	1	3	3	6	3
Carnarvonshire	2	1	—	—	—	—	2	1	3	—	1	2	2	3	3	10	25
Anglesey	2	—	2	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	6	2	—	3	1	5	9
Wales—																	
(County not stated)	52	9	14	11	4	11	26	16	15	15	19	43	29	38	39	98	85
England—																	
(County not stated)	206	98	70	67	73	11	67	89	19	36	65	217	173	348	269	197	229
**Other parts of British Empire*																	
Islands in the British Seas	12	6	3	5	9	20	10	22	3	20	44	54	34	82	29	116	153
Scotland	142	89	37	49	42	134	107	171	122	144	193	432	392	519	304	1112	1311
Ireland	750	644	457	193	501	841	939	708	982	525	939	579	623	689	537	1138	1739
Total	4191	2983	1896	2000	1782	2346	3192	4174	2475	2582	4507	8349	8836	15405	9913	20799	18956

Table A continued.—Showing birthplaces of Persons, not Londoners, born in other parts of the United Kingdom, who were living in the under-noted Sub-Registration Districts in 1881.

County of Birth.	Shoreditch.					Bethnal Green.				Hackney.						
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4			
	Holywell.	St. Leonard.	Hoxton New Town	Hoxton Old Town.	Haggerston.	Hackney Road.	Green.	Church.	Town.	Stamford Hill.	West Hackney.	Hackney.	South Hackney.	Tower Hamlets School Board Division.	Hackney School Board Division.	Whole District.
Population 1881	7376	14967	29937	28036	46275	29738	47932	29981	19310	9277	37610	76911	39883	439186	417233	856419
South Eastern Counties—																
Surrey (Extra-Metropolitan)	72	102	212	225	315	165	234	111	85	130	381	782	390	2844	3204	6048
Kent ,, ,,	112	161	395	313	488	229	466	225	116	198	722	1369	744	8841	5538	14379
Sussex	51	85	171	115	165	82	154	56	21	79	260	685	232	2094	2156	4250
Hampshire	70	123	228	234	228	96	282	136	37	94	377	788	361	4009	3054	7063
Berkshire	43	66	132	109	157	79	168	65	57	76	223	413	186	1507	1774	3281
South Midland Counties—																
Middlesex(Extra-Metropolitan)	188	150	566	606	1239	819	498	265	330	428	1142	3075	1098	6769	10404	17173
Hertfordshire	57	111	260	214	313	157	221	116	73	199	494	906	282	2464	3403	5867
Buckinghamshire	38	64	131	152	134	80	105	84	39	65	214	466	149	1559	1721	3280
Oxfordshire	19	62	126	116	99	74	94	54	19	38	153	325	147	920	1326	2246
Northamptonshire	68	166	158	116	270	183	137	128	40	36	152	351	163	1093	1968	3061
Huntingdonshire.....	12	25	39	51	42	26	33	30	11	32	102	158	41	455	602	1057
Bedfordshire	17	30	152	101	113	46	80	35	14	53	160	267	118	1068	1186	2254
Cambridgeshire	60	108	194	126	306	136	222	120	80	140	303	645	238	2442	2678	5120
Eastern Counties—																
Essex	222	317	606	526	980	450	1205	691	329	692	1246	3506	1281	16057	12051	28108
Suffolk	95	174	293	316	492	280	519	289	189	185	483	1082	478	5112	4875	9987
Norfolk.....	91	159	355	327	734	406	465	295	168	142	536	1153	521	4773	5352	10125
South Western Counties—																
Wiltshire	31	55	152	118	194	92	112	60	27	57	215	391	193	1430	1697	3127
Dorsetshire	15	34	60	41	99	41	70	27	13	41	147	285	95	1337	968	2305
Devonshire	78	124	356	275	395	158	288	146	52	104	520	873	297	4633	3666	8299
Cornwall	17	35	70	74	94	41	77	23	29	34	175	360	114	1492	1143	2635
Somersetshire	42	115	224	198	324	119	203	76	67	79	358	631	308	2425	2744	5169
West Midland Counties—																
Gloucestershire	41	93	207	185	257	137	185	106	36	57	275	555	247	2250	2381	4631

Herefordshire	4	6	26	23	72	13	29	15	3	13	59	81	39	304	383	687
Shropshire	8	19	26	19	42	14	32	12	4	19	48	101	26	298	370	668
Staffordshire	36	65	102	70	134	53	87	54	17	32	90	232	112	1101	1084	2185
Worcestershire	9	26	50	49	57	41	46	17	16	28	64	185	72	500	660	1160
Warwickshire	56	97	253	189	227	140	238	155	93	29	223	450	249	2095	2399	4494
North Midland Counties—																
Leicestershire	7	33	50	72	120	81	81	42	9	14	83	171	92	473	855	1328
Rutlandshire	1	3	7	2	4	4	2	3	1	6	14	21	13	52	81	133
Lincolnshire	26	26	85	84	73	38	75	33	23	38	139	315	132	1303	1087	2390
Nottinghamshire	9	20	44	40	56	26	26	17	8	17	57	147	63	411	530	941
Derbyshire	2	6	22	14	32	14	29	10	8	9	39	83	40	403	308	711
North Western Counties—																
Cheshire	2	27	26	19	33	19	29	16	9	13	66	114	50	404	423	827
Lancashire	41	75	175	111	179	66	155	79	37	48	259	532	241	2702	1998	4700
Yorkshire	40	75	138	132	177	77	190	59	22	66	295	642	318	2797	2231	5028
Northern Counties—																
Durham	13	5	28	22	32	11	40	30	16	15	63	124	83	1553	482	2035
Northumberland	8	17	29	32	36	24	49	25	12	11	81	150	58	1161	532	1693
Cumberland	2	6	13	13	14	7	8	5	2	8	46	50	25	219	199	418
Westmoreland	2	1	6	5	7	1	12	1	—	2	12	23	5	44	77	121
Monmouthshire and Wales—																
Monmouthshire	2	7	13	14	14	10	19	7	2	6	40	90	20	295	244	539
Glamorganshire	9	6	24	13	21	7	18	4	6	4	38	82	29	370	261	631
Carmarthenshire	3	4	9	9	10	3	3	2	3	3	21	17	10	72	97	169
Pembrokeshire	1	1	15	16	4	1	8	8	—	9	29	37	7	239	136	375
Cardiganshire	3	8	33	22	20	22	2	6	15	4	26	47	22	192	230	422
Brecknockshire	—	1	5	1	9	3	6	3	—	2	15	11	9	76	65	141
Radnorshire	—	1	—	2	—	1	3	—	1	4	11	4	3	17	30	47
Montgomeryshire	9	4	13	9	11	5	6	3	3	6	14	23	7	62	113	175
Flintshire	1	3	1	—	2	2	1	—	—	—	9	10	7	50	26	76
Denbighshire	2	3	—	5	5	—	3	—	—	4	9	12	6	51	49	100
Merionethshire	—	2	1	2	—	3	—	1	—	3	6	9	3	22	30	52
Carnarvonshire	1	—	8	3	3	1	1	1	2	3	20	9	1	55	53	108
Anglesey	2	—	1	—	—	1	—	4	—	1	8	4	2	33	23	56
Wales—																
(County not stated)	5	12	31	26	43	29	35	11	9	9	22	66	43	524	341	865
England—																
(County not stated)	78	79	137	133	242	172	228	143	94	53	157	575	175	2234	2266	4500
Other parts of British Empire																
Islands in the British Seas	4	15	23	17	28	9	30	19	3	17	48	108	53	622	374	996
Scotland	54	116	219	128	179	90	177	71	32	106	418	732	344	5300	2666	7966
Ireland	242	193	410	228	471	224	309	187	152	69	350	663	299	12788	3797	16585
Total	2121	3321	7110	6062	9795	5108	7795	4181	2434	3630	11517	24986	10341	114396	98391	212787

Table B.—Showing birthplaces of Persons, not Londoners, born in other parts of the United Kingdom, living in EAST LONDON AND HACKNEY *in* 1881, *re-stated by Registration districts.*

County of Birth.	Whitechapel.	St. George's in-the-East.	Stepney.	Mile End Old Town.	Poplar.	Shoreditch.	Bethnal Green.	Hackney.	Total, East London and Hackney.	Percentage of population of each County living in East London.
Population, 1881.....	71,363	47,157	58,543	105,613	156,510	126,591	126,961	163,681	856,419	
South-Eastern Counties—										
Surrey (Extra Metropolitan) ...	422	298	365	661	1,098	926	595	1,683	6,048	1·31
Kent ,, ,, ...	756	565	1,344	1,876	4,300	1,469	1,036	3,033	14,379	2·03
Sussex.....	306	197	259	498	834	587	313	1,256	4,250	·86
Hampshire.....	411	260	574	806	1,958	883	551	1,620	7,063	1·23
Berkshire	233	106	174	388	606	507	369	898	3,281	1·32
South Midland Counties—										
Middlesex (Extra Metropolitan)	1,334	549	1,337	1,582	1,967	2,749	1,912	5,743	17,173	4·51
Hertfordshire.....	258	166	291	653	1,096	955	567	1,881	5,867	2·89
Buckinghamshire	160	129	229	294	747	519	308	894	3,280	2·10
Oxfordshire	132	61	117	235	375	422	241	663	2,246	1·24
Northamptonshire	132	63	137	295	466	778	488	702	3,061	1·10
Huntingdonshire	51	39	56	123	186	169	100	333	1,057	1·98
Bedfordshire	87	69	111	205	596	413	175	598	2,254	1·46
Cambridgeshire.....	321	116	247	676	1,082	794	558	1,326	5,120	2·67
Eastern Counties—										
Essex	1,379	958	1,765	3,959	7,996	2,651	2,675	6,725	28,108	5·09
Suffolk	485	282	614	1,459	2,272	1,370	1,277	2,228	9,987	2·83
Norfolk	440	306	574	1,282	2,165	1,666	1,334	2,352	10,125	2·31
South-Western Counties—										
Wiltshire	150	99	173	369	639	550	291	856	3,127	1·26
Dorsetshire.....	94	65	162	272	744	249	151	568	2,305	1·25
Devonshire.....	460	428	618	1,062	2,065	1,228	644	1,794	8,299	1·36
Cornwall.....	112	113	271	288	708	290	170	683	2,635	·81
Somersetshire	291	194	274	543	1,123	903	465	1,376	5,169	1·05
West Midland Counties—										
Gloucestershire	223	182	309	506	1,030	783	464	1,134	4,631	·88
Herefordshire	33	26	40	68	137	131	60	192	687	·58
Shropshire	53	17	39	81	108	114	62	194	668	·25

Staffordshire	117	50	128	181	625	407	211	466	2,185	·22
Worcestershire	52	29	54	88	277	191	120	349	1,160	·32
Warwickshire	518	153	167	445	812	822	626	951	4,494	·61
North Midland Counties—										
Leicestershire	94	27	39	107	206	282	213	360	1,328	·84
Rutlandshire	4	2	9	15	22	17	10	54	133	1·16
Lincolnshire	144	107	162	273	617	294	169	624	2,390	1·03
Nottinghamshire	63	33	47	79	189	169	77	284	941	·44
Derbyshire	36	22	57	72	216	76	61	171	711	·37
North-Western Counties—										
Cheshire	47	19	35	88	215	107	73	243	827	·13
Lancashire	521	210	264	512	1,195	581	337	1,080	4,700	·14
Yorkshire	344	245	375	546	1,287	562	348	1,321	5,028	·17
Northern Counties—										
Durham	79	109	293	208	864	100	97	285	2,035	·23
Northumberland	100	106	156	189	610	122	110	300	1,693	·39
Cumberland	15	12	27	48	117	48	22	129	418	·17
Westmoreland	4	4	6	6	24	21	14	42	121	·19
Monmouthshire and Wales—										
Monmouthshire	38	27	30	45	155	50	38	156	539	·45
Glamorganshire	45	29	75	70	151	73	35	153	631	·24
Carmarthenshire	10	2	14	16	30	35	11	51	169	·31
Pembrokeshire	19	14	27	26	153	37	17	82	375	·93
Cardiganshire	24	26	26	54	62	86	45	99	422	·99
Brecknockshire	11	9	4	16	36	16	12	37	141	·53
Radnorshire	3	1	1	4	8	3	5	22	47	·50
Montgomeryshire	9	3	7	18	25	46	17	50	175	·46
Flintshire	4	3	11	7	25	7	3	26	76	·33
Denbighshire	5	6	4	8	28	15	3	31	100	·18
Merionethshire	1	1	4	4	12	5	4	21	52	·15
Carnarvonshire	3	6	3	5	38	15	5	33	108	·18
Anglesey	5	2	8	3	15	3	5	15	56	·33
Wales—										
(County not stated)	101	57	77	67	222	117	84	140	865	
England—										
(County not stated)	525	175	318	521	695	669	637	960	4,500	
Other parts of British Empire—										
Islands in the British Seas	55	35	118	116	298	87	61	226	996	
Scotland	493	400	769	911	2,727	696	370	1,600	7,966	
Ireland	3,386	2,629	2,043	1,312	3,414	1,544	872	1,381	16,585	
Total	15,198	9,841	15,438	24,241	49,668	28,409	19,518	50,474	212,787	

CHAPTER III.

INFLUX OF POPULATION (*continued*).

THE present chapter, written in 1890, is a sequel to the chapter on Influx of Population, written in 1888, which appears as Chapter II. of this volume.

In that chapter an attempt is made to determine the rate of influx from the provinces to East London, and its relation to the poverty and overcrowding of that district.

The problem, however, of the circulation between London and the country cannot be satisfactorily handled with regard to one particular part of London alone; and, moreover, the data for such an inquiry should not be obtained exclusively in London, but also in the rural districts which are the main sources of the influx.

We saw in the previous chapter that the influx from the country to London is in the main an economic movement caused partly by the development of means of access, partly by the increasing relative advantages offered by town life; among which one of the most important is that much of necessary town-work cannot be efficiently done by town-bred people. There is thus a vacuum created and a consequent indraught from around. The countrymen drawn in are mainly the cream of the youth of the villages, travelling not so often vaguely in search of work as definitely to seek a known economic advantage. So far from finding their position in London hopeless, as is often supposed, they usually get the pick of its posts, recruiting especially outdoor trades which have some affinity with those to which they have been accustomed in the country, and in general all employments requiring special steadiness and imposing special responsibility. The

country immigrants do not to any considerable extent directly recruit the town unemployed, who are, in the main, the sediment deposited at the bottom of the scale, as the physique and power of application of a town population tend to deteriorate. The movement from the country is thus a movement downwards from above. Thus there is a very real and definite relation between influx and town poverty, though they are not directly connected, as cause and effect, in the manner usually supposed. They appear rather as joint effects of the same persistent cause —the deterioration of town labour, under the influence of town life. In speaking of influx in this connection, reference is made to the special flow of country labour to the towns, which is outside and in addition to the natural interchange of population between neighbouring districts, which is a feature of all healthy industrial communities.

Distribution of the immigrants in London.—The 1881 census showed that 343 out of every 1000 inhabitants of London were born in other parts of the United Kingdom.* As might be expected the outsiders are not scattered evenly over its vast area. As a general rule they settle most in the newer and more sparsely peopled outlying parts, especially those which have been rapidly built over. On the whole, the growing parts of London are the chief receptacle of immigrants, while the overcrowded districts of the east and centre have the smallest proportion of countrymen. The exact distribution (in 1881) is shown in the map facing p. 148, compiled from an examination of the rough sheets of that year's census.† The map is an extension to the whole of London of the map at p. 67. So low

* The following statements apply exclusively to provincial migration, and do not include immigrants from abroad.

† I have to express my hearty thanks to the Registrar-General for his courtesy in permitting me to continue the work of extracting the figures on which the map is based from the papers in Somerset House.

however, are the percentages of outsiders shown by most parts of the East End compared with many districts in the north, west and south, that it has been necessary to lower the scale of colouring considerably in order to include the whole of London in one map.

The absolute "low-water mark" of immigration for the whole of London is situated in Bethnal Green, being indeed almost coincident with the area which has lately been condemned by the County Council. In that district the proportion of country-born sinks to 125 in the 1000. The district is very crowded and insanitary, and includes a good many patches of black and blue in the poverty map. The infant mortality is said to be very much higher than that for London generally. It is some confirmation of the theory of the former chapter that here we should find the smallest proportion of outsiders, and the coincidence of so high an infant death-rate with the lowest proportion of countrymen lends some additional colour to the view that the Londoner tends to die out *relatively* to the country-man; or, to state the same thing in a different form, that the two elements of the population increase by excess of births over deaths at unequal rates.

Next to Bethnal Green come the contiguous East End districts, including parts of Whitechapel and St. George's-in-the-East, the whole forming an area of great poverty and overcrowding, and with less than 20 per cent. of country-born inhabitants.

Round this area as centre is grouped a ring of districts in which the proportion of countrymen lies between 20 and 30 per cent. This inner ring includes the remainder of Whitechapel and St. George's, Stepney, Mile End Old Town, Bow, South Hackney, Shoreditch, the greater part of Holborn, and the St. Botolph division of the city, whence it crosses the river and embraces the poorer parts of St. Saviour's and St. Olave's, Southwark, and the river-side district of Deptford. All this ring is above the average

in poverty and below the average in the provincial element of population.

A minor area of depression of the provincial element is the poor district centreing in Seven Dials, the percentage falling below 30 in the sub-districts of St. Anne's, Soho, and St. Giles's south.

Turning to the other end of the scale we find the high-water mark of the influx in Mayfair, where the proportion rises to 59. In the neighbouring districts of Kensington and Brompton, St. George's Hanover Square, Belgravia, and St. John's, Paddington, more than half the inhabitants are country-born.

Thus the general law is one of inverse ratio between the proportion of provincial immigrants and the poverty of the district, modified, of course, by local considerations, such as distance from the centre of London, and facility of access from country districts in which the labour market is glutted. The relative proportions of country-born inhabitants in the five great divisions of London is seen from the following summary of the figures given in the appendix volume, on which the map is based.

—	Population.	Percentage of Provincial born inhabitants.
West London	669,633	37·3
North London	719,485	44·4
Central London	282.238	30·4
South London	1,265,927	34·1
East London	879,200	24·2

From this it is seen that the North and West have more than their share of the influx; the proportion for South London is about the same as for the whole of the metropolis, and the East and Centre have less than their due complement of outsiders.

There is one district in London which seems at first sight to present an exception to the general law. The City of London is not only the oldest and most central part of the metropolis, but the one which is decreasing most

rapidly in population. Such a centre should, it might be thought, contain very few countrymen. On the contrary, however, the proportion of outsiders is here above the average and rises in one sub-district* to 46 per cent. This is probably accounted for in part by the peculiar composition of the City resident population, which is largely made up of caretakers and shop assistants living on business premises —two classes which seem to number more than the average proportion of countrymen, perhaps because of the responsibility and steadiness required.

It must never be forgotten that a great part of the influx from the country is not included in our tables or map, because its destination is not the metropolitan area proper but the sub-metropolitan districts, such as Edmonton, West Ham and Croydon, outside the Registrar-General's boundary. This fringe of urban districts, amounting in population to nearly a million, grows at the rate of nearly 20,000 a year by migration from without and from within. Hence the total annual net gain of Greater London by migration is about 30,000 persons, of whom two-thirds settle in the outer ring.†

A special map is given in the first chapter showing the distribution of foreigners in the eastern district, where foreign immigration presents the most remarkable features. It has not been thought worth while to extend this map to the other parts of London, where there is not so much to note about the distribution of foreigners. By far the largest number from any one country are Germans, of whom there are many more men than women. Next, but at a very long distance, come the French. The Germans are everywhere, particularly in Islington, Marylebone, Kensington, St. Pancras, and Holborn. The French are chiefly congregated in the registration districts

* Castle Baynard.

† The exact gain by migration of the outer ring in 10 years previous to 1881 was 198,887, and of the whole area of greater London for the same period 306,633.

of Marylebone, Paddington and Kensington. There is a colony of Italians in Holborn, of whom more than half are in the one sub-district of St. Andrew Eastern. For the distribution of foreigners, particularly Russians and Poles, the information as to East London is sufficient.

The efflux from London.—The outflow from London differs economically from the inflow in many important characteristics. In the first place the bulk of the migrants go much shorter distances, more than half (299,288 out of 584,000) settling in the counties of Surrey, Essex, Kent and Middlesex immediately contiguous to the metropolis. Much, therefore, of this movement cannot be classified as economic migration at all, if by "migration" we mean a movement of residence which involves a movement of work. A very large number merely move across the imaginary line separating the London of the Registrar-General from the parts of Greater London lying outside. The opening up of cheap communication between the centre and circumference of London has combined with the pressure of high rents and overcrowding to cause many workmen and clerks to migrate to the newer and cheaper districts on the margin, even at a great distance from their work, which is reached by means of the workmen's trains. This process may continue until the difference of rental and expense of living is balanced by the cost of railway tickets.

The home counties, as a reference to the map in this volume, p. 67, shows, are the great recruiting ground for London, but so great is the outward movement, that on the whole the more contiguous parts gain rather than lose by the exchange, as is seen from the following comparison :—

Natives of extra-metropolitan Middlesex living in metropolitan Middlesex (1881)	76,771
Natives of metropolitan Middlesex living in extra-metropolitan Middlesex	80,271
Gain of extra-metropolitan Middlesex by the exchange	3,500

The general law that the migrants from London move

shorter distances than the migrants into London holds good beyond the limits of the home counties. In Ch. II. (p. 67) there appears a table showing the porportion of inhabitants of each ring of counties found in London. Repeating the calculation for natives of London found in each ring, we get the following comparison of results :—

Ring.	Average distance from London in miles.	Influx. No. of persons per 1000 of population of each ring living in London, 1881.	Efflux. No. of natives of London living in each ring per 1000 of population of the ring, 1881.
1	23·8	166·0	142·3
2	52·5	121·4	42·5
3	90·9	61·2	17·7
4	126·0	32·0	9·8
5	175·7	16·2	8·5
6	236·9	24·9	6·5

It will be seen that the percentages in the "efflux" column fall off much more rapidly than those in the "influx" column as we recede from London.

It is clear that if we wish to analyze the efflux as an economic movement we must first subtract the migrants to the home counties where the economic features are hopelessly obscured by other considerations.*

If we do this, and classify the remaining migrants according to the character of the district in which they settle, we find, as might be expected, that on the whole they prefer the large centres of population to the smaller towns and rural districts.

	Total population.	Number born in London.	Ditto per 1000 of population.
Towns over 100,000†	3,735,868	64,918	17·4
Ditto, 50,000 to 100,000† ...	1,717,196	24,079	14
Rural districts and urban districts under 50,000† ...	15,254,385	196,415	12·9

* Through failure to make this subtraction, I published what I now think to be a misleading result as regards the distribution of Londoners in the provinces, in a paper on "Migration of Labour" in the Transactions of the Political Economy circle of the National Liberal Club, Vol. I.

† Exclusive of Middlesex, Surrey, Essex and Kent. The full figures on which this table is based are given on p. 147.

Considering the fact that labourers when migrating usually choose districts and occupations as nearly as possible akin to those which they leave, we should naturally have expected to find a much more marked difference between the proportions of Londoners who settle in the populous and the sparsely peopled districts respectively. But the fact is, that mixed up with the economic migration of wage-earners, there is a considerable volume of migrants living on fixed incomes, including many old or infirm persons in receipt of pensions and allowances; and these naturally choose the thinly peopled districts, which are usually the areas of low cost of living. Almost all the economic considerations which determine a flow of productive labour from one district to another are reversed in the case of this class of unproductive migrants.

A further analysis of the distribution of the migrants from London shows that seaports have, as might be expected, more than their due share of Londoners. In a few cases, moreover, a definite economic interchange can be traced, as between London and Northampton, which are both great centres of the boot-trade. Accordingly Northampton, considering its distance, contains nearly twice the normal proportion of Londoners. Beyond, however, a few facts of this kind, it seems impossible to go with any certainty. The attempt to classify the Londoners living in the provinces according to social grades and occupations, on the same plan as was followed with some success for the migrants into London, has proved an impossible task. The migrants are too scattered, and too small in number to be easily "sampled." In the case of the influx this is comparatively easy. The immigrants are found concentrated in one great centre; or if no other method avails, recourse can be had to the treasure-house of the memory of the oldest inhabitant of the dwindling villages. But to treat the outflow in the same way is quite another question.*

* I have to express my thanks to Miss E. L. Colebrook of Reading, who

We can however say with safety that the purely economic element in the outflow is far less prominent than in the inflow, that reasons of health and convenience play a much more important part; that in all probability the migrants contain a much larger proportion of married persons with families than the immigrants, and that their ages therefore fall to a large extent outside (both below and above) the limits within which those of the great bulk of immigrants are confined. This would furnish a complete explanation of the figures quoted in chapter II., p. 63, but there left unexplained, showing that there is a much larger proportion of children among the Londoners living in the provinces than among the countrymen living in London.

The statistics of the distribution of Londoners in the various counties and great towns of England and Wales are given on p. 147.

The Sources of the Influx.—If we transfer our attention to the rural districts, we find in the slow increase of their population or its actual decay the complementary phenomenon to the excessive growth of the towns. Not that, as a whole, the country can be said to be becoming rapidly depopulated, for Dr. Ogle has proved* that the total rural population has been nearly stationary for thirty years; but the migration to the towns is attested by the fact that a rural area very seldom increases in population by an amount equal to the recorded excess of births over deaths, while in the case of such districts as the rural parts of Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, and Wiltshire, there is actually a considerable decrease, amounting to from 6 to 12 per cent. Here, then, and

has done all that was possible towards carrying out such an analysis so far as regards that district. Miss Colebrook has kindly furnished me with particulars of Londoners found in the Reading Union, and applying to the local Charity Organization Society. I have, however, come to the conclusion that to generalize from such narrow data, would be misleading.

* Journal of Royal Statistical Society, June, 1889.

especially in the Eastern, Southern, and South-Western Counties, we have the great source of the influx into London.*

When writing the first chapter on this subject I often felt the want of more information about the actual career of individual migrants and the change of condition which they have experienced by leaving the country for the towns. Accordingly I have endeavoured for the purpose of this paper to collect detailed information in certain groups of villages as to the career of former inhabitants who are now in London and other towns. The value of such information depends very largely on the degree to which we can be sure that the cases scheduled are fair samples of the whole. I have therefore always tried to obtain particulars regarding a large percentage of migrants from some one village in preference to a smaller percentage from a wider area. Details have thus been obtained of about five hundred individuals, the large majority having been born in a group of villages and small market towns in Hertfordshire and South Cambridgeshire. The following is an example of the way in which the sheets were filled up :—

Name.	Age at date of migration.	Birthplace.	Place to which he migrated.	Former employment.	Present employment.	Former wages.	Present wages.	Remarks.
A. B.	19	W	London.	Carpenter.	Railway porter.	—	22*s*	Went just after serving his apprenticeship. Sent for by a friend.
C. D.	22	X	London.	Bricklayer's labourer.	Railway porter.	9*s*	19*s* 6*d*	Wanted more wages.
E. F.	18	Y	Stratford.	Whitesmith.	Engine cleaner.	—	£1	Went with employer.
G. H.	20	Z	London.*	Wheelwright.	Wheelwright.	10*s*	25*s*	Went to look for work. No work here.
I. J.	27	Z	London.	Farm labourer.	Gardener.	9*s*	20*s*	Went on promise of a situation. Brother already in London.

* Went to a neighbouring town first.

* Compare the map facing p. 67, Chapter II., of this book, and the Statistics on p. 114.

Of course it has not been possible to fill all the columns in all cases.

In this way statistical results of some value have been arrived at, which give some insight into the conditions of the problem. As, however, figures by themselves are somewhat dry and meaningless, we shall gain the best idea of the process of migration by first taking a concrete case.

Let us, then, transfer ourselves to a village in the centre of a purely agricultural district in the Eastern Counties, which are the chief feeders of London: a village with a long, straggling, dead-alive street, and a general feeling in the air of desertion and decay. It is in the heart of what Trade Unionists would call the "blackleg" district, whence any number of labourers can be imported on an emergency to fill the places of London strikers. Its population in 1871 was 1000; in 1881, 900; now, probably, there are hardly more than 800 inhabitants; and they are growing old, for all the young ones go. "We shall soon be all old men," says the village blacksmith mournfully, "and yet what is the use of the lads staying here? There is nothing to do; they had better seek their luck elsewhere." The speaker himself has three sons already settled in London, and prospering well. When we go back to our statistics and look out the Ages Returns in the Census volume, we find that our informant is right, for the proportion of young men from twenty to twenty-five in the district is one-third too few, and of men over sixty twice too great, as compared with the whole country. But to return to the village forge. The other gossips confirm the blacksmith's tale in general terms, but are reluctant to enter into particulars. "You see, sir," says one, "the men about here don't hold with this inquiry." And then we find that our inquiries are supposed to be directed towards hunting up the lads who have left for London, and compelling them to contribute to the support of their parents who come upon the rates. The schoolmaster, however,

who has once taught in a London school, is superior to these prejudices, and from him we learn a good deal of the life history of the village. A few years ago there was some quarrying, which employed a good many of the inhabitants, but now it is worked out. Many of the farmers are said to be bankrupt, and wages are 11*s* in summer, and 10*s* in winter, and there is talk of an Agricultural Labourers' Union, but it is only whisper at present, and that of the vaguest kind.

In the school, all the brightest boys are living in the expectation of going up to town. Most of them have relations there already. At home there is no opening, and it is deadly dull. Hard by dwells a labourer, with a family of twelve. Six are in London already, and the rest will follow when old enough. Across the road there used to live a family of nine. All the sons and daughters are now gone; six to London, one to a neighbouring village. It is the same in all the villages round: "We cannot tell what is to become of the country-side," they say; "even now in hay harvest there is a scarcity of labour." But the farmers will not—perhaps as things are, they cannot—raise the customary wage; and all agree that the rising generation are right to go elsewhere.

It has been found possible to trace out the career of one of these migrants, and his life history may give us a better idea than we could gain in any other way of the mode in which town and country are knit together.*

At the end of last century a sawyer, named Potton, lived with his family in the village of Little Guilden. It was not then so small a village as now, for the folk of Little Guilden were not then dependent entirely on the land. Each housewife plaited straw at her cottage door, and the sound of the loom and the spinning wheel had not yet vanished from the home. At that time, too, steam saw-mills were unknown, and pit sawing was a village industry.

* In what follows names of persons and places have been altered.

Now all that is changed: timber is imported or transported direct to the towns and there sawn by steam power. The village sawyers have in many cases followed their work, so that we are told that a large proportion of London sawyers at the present day hail from the rural districts. These changes, however, have happened since Mr. Potton's time, and he lived and died in his native village. Not so his sons. There were five in all, and all began life as village carpenters, but the quiet monotony did not long content them. It was in the first decade of the present century that the eldest went up to try his fortune in London, and settled down as a carpenter or cabinet-maker in the parish of St. Luke's, Shoreditch, the very heart of the London cabinet-making trade. So far from finding his position hopeless, as required by the popular theory, he was sufficiently satisfied to induce first one brother, then another, to join him, so that we find that, one by one, the whole family of brothers transported themselves to Shoreditch.

The chief interest, however, to us in their careers lies in the influence they afterwards exercised on the stream of migration from their native village. For Mr. Potton, senior, had a nephew of the name of Jarman, born and bred in the same quiet village, where, till the age of thirty-two, he tilled the soil for the wage of 8*s* a week. One day, however, about the middle of the century, he turned his back on Little Guilden, with 3*s* 6*d* in his pocket, and tramped to London, sleeping in outhouses on the way. But he no longer had to wander aimlessly through the great city searching for work, for his cousins had pioneered the road. After two or three days' search he found out his eldest cousin and was received into his house in Shoreditch. Once there, a post was very soon found—not as a carpenter (of course a labourer from the country has seldom any opportunity of entering a skilled trade in London)—but in a town employment

as nearly as might be akin to that he formerly pursued, viz. in the horse-keeping department of Pickford's, the great carriers. Here John Jarman was at once taken on, at the moderate wage of a guinea, not quite three times the earnings he made at home; and now his fortune was made. It is needless to follow him through all his changes, first to the Great Northern Railway at King's Cross, and lastly to their centre, near the East India Docks. We find him rising to the comfortable position of managing foreman, with forty or fifty men under him; still in the same kind of work as at Pickford's, but higher up the scale, and in a little house and garden at Blackwall, a position of comfort which enabled him to indulge his feeling of contempt for cockneydom in general. For, in the first place, he had a profound belief in the superiority of country labour; in the second place, he had continually to fill up vacancies among the fifty men whom he commanded; and in the third place, like his uncle, he had nephews and friends in Little Guilden. So, from this time, Mr. Jarman's home in Poplar became a recognized centre to which flocked the youth of Little Guilden. Some he could take on himself; others he found berths for elsewhere. One who had been a village coal-porter was provided with a post as horse-keeper (exactly as his uncle had been provided ten years before), and afterwards exchanged the position for that of signal-man at one of the docks. Others had places found for them in shops, or in the Great Northern service; and one enlisted in the army.

All these were lads of fifteen or sixteen years of age—earning about half-a-crown a week in the fields at Little Guilden, but immediately securing wages varying from 10*s* to 19*s* on their arrival in town. And, as soon as the good man's nephews fairly struck root and became settled in London, we find them beginning to bring up brothers and cousins of their own. The shop-boy—now the keeper

of a thriving general shop in Limehouse—received a visit from a younger brother from the country whom he first employed in his shop and then helped to emigrate. We find another lad, who had already tried his luck as a "gyp" at Cambridge, spending a holiday in town with his brother (now himself a foreman on the Great Northern) and employing the time in looking out for a job on the railway. The boy was successful in getting a place as messenger at 16*s* a week—probably six times what he could have earned in his native fields—and thence transferred himself to the Metropolitan Police force, where he doubtless shows his country steadiness, and is very likely now bringing up country nephews in his turn.

At last, about three years ago, Mr. John Jarman, now an old man, fell a victim to rheumatism and retired with a comfortable pension. With country shrewdness, he saw that though wages may be higher in London than elsewhere, a fixed income goes furthest in a region of low prices. There were yet friends and relatives in Little Guilden, and thither he has returned to pass his remaining years, and there he will talk at length of his deeds of "home colonization," and expatiate on the superiority of the countryman to the cockney. But before leaving London, he took care to settle one of his nephews on his throne, where he again has the same opportunity, of keeping the little world of Little Guilden informed of any advantageous openings that occur in the neighbourhood of the Poplar establishment of the Great Northern Company.

Doubtless cases of a similar kind could be multiplied,—where a country nucleus once established in any particular district in London, grows in geometric ratio by the importation of friends and relations. We find one village sending the flower of its youth to Finsbury, another to Hornsey, a third to a big establishment in Cheapside. So, if an employer is Welsh, we may find a Welsh colony near his works; if from Devon, a colony of Devonshire men

Probably one of the most powerful and efficient migration agencies is that supplied by the letters written home by the country girl settled in domestic service in the great town. But it is needless to labour the argument. The life history here traced offers at once a striking picture and a fair sample of the mode in which the influx from the country takes place. How unlike the notion of the author of a book on "Town Slums," who tells us that "the countryman has ever the idea that the great centres of labour are always the best field for work, *whereas the opposite is almost invariably the case.*"

Of 202 cases of migration which I have been able definitely to track, 102, or almost exactly one-half, showed that the migrant had definitely secured or was practically sure of a place in town before leaving the country. He went to join friends, or in response to an advertisement, or to a post secured beforehand. Of the remaining 100, a very large number were doubtless pretty sure at the outset of being able to better themselves.

Let us consider what inferences are to be drawn from the example just given. From the country point of view the main causes of the movement may be summed up as the narrowing of the field of employment and the opening up of means of communication.

The loss of rural industries has thrown the labourer on the land for support, and closed the door to women's employment, and the long continued depression of agriculture has compelled the bankrupt farmer to economize by reducing the amount of labour employed. Thus the number of hired labourers employed per acre on the larger farms in Huntingdonshire has decreased 17 per cent. in ten years.

But more potent, perhaps, than any of these causes has been the change wrought by the school, the railway, and the penny post. In school the dormant intelligence of the rising Hodge is awakened, and his ideas widened. A

country minister once complained to me that, wherever he went, he only filled his chapel and school to empty them again by the migration of his flock to the towns. Thither, and especially to London, the eyes of all the more energetic youth are turned.

And while the eyes of the villagers are becoming opened to the existence of a market for their labour where it will command a good deal more than the customary 10*s* or 11*s* in Little Guilden, the penny post serves to keep them in touch with what is going on in town and with the career of their friends and relatives who have gone before, and who serve as outposts to keep them informed of the possible openings which they may fill. And the railway, which penetrates into the inmost recesses of the rural counties, provides not only a means of direct access to large centres but in many cases a series of easy stepping stones. A lad first finds employment at the station of Little Chipping and gradually works his way up to a London platform.

From the point of view of the town there are two great causes of the movement of labour—equally important and equally necessary. London is attractive to the countryman, and London offers openings to the countryman.

It need hardly be said that its attractiveness is not purely economic—at least, in the narrowest sense of the term. The imaginary gold which paves its streets, not only attracts by its value, but dazzles by its glitter. Many, again, want to exchange the highly developed public opinion of the sparsely peopled village for the crowded loneliness of the great centre. So that the ne'er-do-weels of the village are drawn to the towns as well as the energetic—the dregs of the country as well as the cream. Sometimes we come across migrants whom it is difficult to classify in either category, because they partake of the character of both. Such is the Cambridgeshire villager who, in slack times, tramps to London, where he makes

more money by singing in the streets than he could earn by farm labour in the country.

But, on the whole, the movement is an economic one, in search of a known and real economic advantage. The difference in wages-level between London and the villages of the home-counties is very great, even in the same trades. Cost of living is of course higher too; but this fact modifies the argument only very slightly. The various economic advantages of London appeal with very different degrees of force to the countryman, and contribute in very different measure to the migration. To take an extreme example, if we were endeavouring to measure the degree to which migration is promoted by the attractiveness of model workmen's dwellings, we should clearly attribute a more stimulating effect on the rural imagination to the artificial lowering of rent than to the salutary enforcement of beneficial regulations—say, that all inhabitants should be vaccinated. Or, to take a case less extreme, and more important for our purposes, I have little doubt that high money wage appeals more than low cost of living. It may be too sweeping to assert, as a law of migration, that the current will flow from centres of low wage and low cost of living to those of high wage and high cost of living; but there would be an element of truth in such a law, at least so far as active wage-earning labour is concerned.

The high money wage in London is an obvious concrete inducement against which high cost of living weighs lightly. The extra cost is largely made up of little items which are not foreseen, small payments for services which can be had gratis at home; or of expenses which cannot be incurred in the country, because the advantages they represent cannot be obtained there at all. The cost of all this the immigrant will find out presently, as well as the very real extra cost of rent, but it does not appeal to him yet.

Thus, besides higher real wages, we may set down as a

second cause of attraction of London, the still higher nominal wages due to high cost of living. On the other hand, the economic tendency is reversed in the case of all who live on a fixed income, as was illustrated by the later movements of Mr. Jarman. Perhaps we may say that there is a set of productive labour towards centres of high wage and high cost of living, and of unproductive consumers towards districts of low wage and low price.

Another point is worth alluding to. London and the great towns are the paradise of boys' labour. One of the causes of the unwillingness of parents in London to apprentice their sons for long periods is the temptation of the high—perhaps too high—immediate wages which they can earn as odd boys. But in the country, where rates of wage are still largely customary, the wages of boys and young men are considerably lower than those of adults, even for the same work. I have seen two ploughs being driven in the same field, with apparently equal skill, by a man and a youth who were receiving very different rates of pay. The more energetic of the rising generation chafe under the inequality, and while their minds have not risen to the possibility of changing that or any other custom at home, they listen greedily to the descriptions of London, where things are so different. London knows nothing of customary wages, at all events as between man and boy, but pays strictly for service performed.

The relatively high wages which can be earned by boys and young men in London is thus another cause of influx, and to this is to be added the greater opportunity of adding to the family income by women's work. The descendants of the women who used to ply the now dying trade of plaiting at the cottage door may now, perhaps, be pasting labels on Crosse & Blackwell's jam-pots, or packing lucifer matches for Bryant & May. The earnings of the wives and daughters of the dockers were a great and not fully recognized factor in the dockers' victory of 1889. The difference

of wage between the country and the town would seem still greater if we took the family instead of the individual as our unit.

As allusion has here been made to women's work, this may be the most convenient place to note the great difficulty of obtaining satisfactory statistics on the question of female migration. We know that, as a whole, it is greater in volume than that of men,—that is to say, on any given day more women than men are living outside the district of their birth. Of course this is largely due to the demand for domestic servants, who, as noted above, become in turn centres for promoting fresh migration. But there is also a large non-economic element, arising out of the fact that a woman, on marrying, is more likely to live in the district where her husband previously resided than *vice versâ*. This fact is enough to make the interpretation of the statistics of female migration very difficult.

Returning to the statistics of migration collected in the country districts, we find that the ages of the migrants scheduled confirm, in a marked degree, the statements with regard to age made in the former chapter, 80 per cent. being between 15 and 25 years old.*

To exhibit the changes of occupation, the employments have been divided into various groups, against each of which is inserted the number of migrants employed in that occupation, both before and after migration. As the occupations were not furnished in every case it has been necessary, in order to make the columns comparable, to reduce the column to a standard total of 1000 migrants.

* Ages of 295 migrants from villages, &c., to towns (especially to London) at the date of migration:—

Under	15	16
,,	15—25	235
,,	25—30	27
Over	30	17

Occupations of 1000 *Village Migrants before and after migration.**

		Before.	After.
A. Outdoor Labour ...	Labourer	640	169
	Gardener	17	52
	Railway worker	5	92
	Carman or Driver	19	68
	Brewery, Contractor's Yard, &c.	5	9
	Porter or Errand Boy	9	31
B. Service	Man-servant or Groom	16	75
	Domestic Servant	42	83
C. Public Service	Policeman, &c.	—	34
	Soldier or Sailor	—	108
	Postman	—	3
D. Building Trades ...	Carpenter and Timber Trades	38	40
	Bricklayer and Mason	9	3
	Painter	36	21
E. Other skilled occupations	Shoemaker	11	12
	Tailor and Dressmaker	14	12
	Miller	7	—
	Wheelwright and Smith	28	24
	Tanner, Saddler, &c.	16	13
	Engineer and gun factory	—	9
	Soap, Gas, Chemical and other Works	—	21
F. Retail Dealers	Shopkeeper and Assistant	71	81
	Publican and Restaurant keeper and Assistant	7	13
	Pawnbroker and Assistant	—	3
G. Miscellaneous	Clerk	7	15
	Teacher, Preacher, &c.	3	9
		1000	1000

As a rule skilled artisans work in London at the same trade as in the country, and there are very few cases of country labourers becoming skilled artisans in the towns. Indeed, there are only six such cases among the 500 scheduled, two becoming carpenters, one a wheelwright, and two entering the engineering trades. Of these one was only a boy of fifteen at the date of migration, and, probably, if full particulars respecting the other cases were forthcoming, some special circumstances would be found explaining the apparent exceptions to the almost universal rule. Labourers usually choose in the towns some outdoor occupation included in group A of the above table. Where they go outside the limits of that group it is either to take

* The great majority, but not all, of these migrants moved up to London.

service as a soldier, sailor, policeman, groom, or man-servant, or to some form of retail dealing. A few have found their way into gas and chemical works, but probably their occupation there is heavy labourers' work. There is a fair number of skilled artisans among the migrants, but a slightly smaller number are scheduled as working at such trades after than before migration (155 against 159). This suggests (what from independent evidence we know to be true) that the skilled artisan finds his way to London *after* serving his time in the small country towns. The decay of apprenticeship has gone further in the great centres of population, where machinery and division of labour have had the greatest scope to work out their full effects, than in the rural districts where old-world customs and methods still survive. While production is stimulated as a whole, it becomes increasingly difficult in London to get an all-round man in trades which have been largely affected by modern changes. Thus in many trades country immigrants are preferred for posts of foremen. Again, in the building trades, London masters are less and less willing to take the trouble of teaching apprentices, but prefer to take on men who have served their apprenticeship elsewhere. Almost all branches of the building trades—carpenters and joiners, masons and bricklayers, and plumbers—are overrun by country labour. There are villages and country towns which may be described as breeding grounds for journeymen for the great cities. There is little doubt that the relatively high wages which boys can pick up in London by work which will end in a few years in a *cul-de-sac,* leaving them without knowledge of a trade, is not only, as we have seen above, a direct cause of attraction to countrymen, but also, by discouraging apprenticeship in London, opens a wide door for the influx of full-blown artisans from the little country towns.

As regards the Londoners by birth, there is little to add to the proof given in the first chapter that the occupations

which show an excess of London natives chiefly consist of casual and irregular employments, requiring no exceptional steadiness or strength. But a considerable mass of evidence has since been accumulated in further confirmation of the theory that the major part of London poverty and distress is home-made, and not imported from outside.

In the former chapter statistics were given from two centres of the Charity Organization Society tending to show that the bulk of applicants for relief in London are London born. The figures, though suggestive, were too partial to be conclusive, and as the society is the most widely reaching organization dealing systematically with cases of distress (other than those which come within the poor law), it has been thought advisable to obtain more complete statistics and to carry the analysis further than was attempted before. I have to thank the secretary of the society and the committees of fourteen centres in various parts of London who have kindly consented to take down birthplace and length of residence in London of all their applicants, for a period of nearly a year. The result confirms my previous conclusion.

The full figures are given on p. 147.

The general result reduced to terms of 1000 applications* is given below; the corresponding proportion for the whole adult population of London is added for comparison:—

—	Total.	Born in London.	Born outside London. Resident in London.				
			1 Under 1 year.	2 1-5.	3 5-10.	4 10-20.	5 20 and upwards.
Charity Organization Society cases.	1,000	596	32	64	74	108	126
Adult population generally	1,000	460	—	—	—	—	—

* A correction has been applied in order to make the figures representative of the whole of London equally. Otherwise, since South London is over-represented in the returns in proportion to its population, the result would be incorrect.

Thus in round figures 60 per cent. of this class are London born.

In these figures a certain set of cases known to the Charity Organization Society as "Homeless cases" have been excluded. They are discussed in a separate chapter in Volume I., and seem to form a special class by themselves. It will be noticed that with this exception a very small number (only about 3 per cent. of the whole number of applicants) had come in from the country within a year; while more than three-quarters of the country-born applicants had lived more than five years in London before sinking into want. All this evidence confirms the view that the country immigrant has very little difficulty in finding work in London.

I have further taken and analyzed most of the cases (where the particulars were available), included in column 2, *i.e.* those immigrants who may reasonably be said to have failed at once in their object in coming to London. One striking fact about them is their *age*. The vast majority of immigrants from the country come up to town between the age of 15 and 25. Of the immediate failures, however, 83 per cent. are over 25, a fact which suggests that migration becomes very risky from an economic point of view outside the limits named. The objects alleged by the "failures" for their migration to town, may be classified as follows:—

	Per cent.
To look for work	48
To a situation previously found (or supposed to be found)	20
To hospital or for medical relief	12*
From abroad	4
To emigrate	4
Non-industrial (to join relatives, family reasons, reasons of health, &c.)	12
	100

* Several of these applied merely for a letter to a hospital, so that they should perhaps be excluded from the "failures" since they achieved their object in coming to town, being in fact attracted by the prospect of medical relief. If so, the total of failures is still further reduced.

Another point about the "failures" is the enormous preponderance of cases of poverty through habit over cases of poverty through circumstance; and the small number among them of manual labourers. The following *précis* of all such cases dealt with during six months by one committee is given as a specimen:—

	Occupation.	Remarks.
1	Manservant	Dismissed from last post for laziness. Married six weeks later while out of work.
2	Manservant	Testimonials appeared to be forged. Situation found for him, but immediately lost through drink.
3	Widow (Cook) ...	Situation found. Drank, and bolted without paying rent.
4	Servant	Gave false address. (Refused.)
5	Waiter	Dismissed from last two places for bad conduct; "throwing chairs about and breaking them."
6	Housemaid.....	Situation found. Went to it drunk, and had to be fetched away.
7	Box maker.....	Says he lost his work through his men going on strike in Glasgow. (Refused.)
8	Widow	Illness (medical relief).
9	Blacksmith	
10	Charwoman ...	

The so-called "homeless cases" omitted from this summary are of a somewhat different kind. They are mostly unmarried men, many of them on their way elsewhere, who finding their means exhausted either through improvidence, excess, or robbery, apply for temporary relief while stranded in London. They are in fact nearer to the tramp in characteristics than to the ordinary cases of distress. As will be seen from a reference to the figures for St. James, Soho, on p. 147, they are mostly countrymen who have only just entered London. Such a result is to be expected. In all great cities there is a certain nomad population of habitual wanderers, the gipsies of our modern civilization, who crowd our casual wards and shelters, and differ considerably from the "poor" and "very poor" of the classification adopted in this book, with whom they

are apt at times to be confounded. This tribe of wanderers —the flotsam and jetsam of our industrial storms— attract an amount of popular attention quite out of proportion to their numbers. They are the men who sleep in the summer nights in the parks or on the embankment. The majority of those in any one district on any given day are unlikely to be natives of that district, for with them each town or village is merely a temporary camping ground on their ceaseless wanderings to and fro. Thus it should cause no surprise to find that most of those who apply for relief in London declare themselves to have been country born, and it is a strange perversion of reasoning to build on such a fact any inferences as to the general relation of the stream of country immigrants of which they are in no degree a type to the mass of city poverty of which they are by no means a fair sample.

A word is necessary in conclusion on the interpretation of our results. Free circulation of labour is the very life-blood of a modern industrial community. Wherever it stops, there is industrial disease. There is indeed movement which is healthy and movement which is unwholesome. The floating to and fro of the army of tramps and homeless wanderers is neither a cause nor a symptom of a sound state of the labour market. But the movement that represents real economic mobility, the power of ready transference of labour to new fields where it is in demand, is often the only safeguard a labourer possesses amid the many and complex dislocations of modern industry.

In every district there are round men confined in square holes. Often their only chance of finding the hole into which they can fit is to move elsewhere, and every time a man is fitted into the right hole a benefit is conferred on

the community. In the language of political economists, the process of equalizing the advantages of various districts always increases the total sum of utility. Moreover, the act of migration may itself help to evolve new productive energy. For men whose energies would have remained half-developed so long as they stayed amid the familiar associations and surroundings of home, the mere contact with a new and unfamiliar environment may often furnish the stimulus needful to call out their latent powers. They are compelled to take stock of their economic position, and this is often the first step to improving it.

Doubtless it is the best men in each district to whom the attractions of other fields of work appeal most strongly. And thus wherever we go we find as a rule that those born elsewhere supply the more energetic element of the population. But the overwhelming superiority of the countrymen in London requires much more to explain it completely than the mere operation of this process of natural selection; and it is here that the unhealthy factor in the influx enters. Besides the general economic causes of labour circulation, there is a special attractive force exercised by the great towns,—a force dependent for its strength on the difference of sanitary level between town and country. Fortunately this cause is diminishing, and will probably decrease still further in the immediate future. Death-rates in town and country, though still far from identical, are gradually tending towards equality with the advance of sanitary science. This and every other change which is an index of an improvement in the health and vigour of the Londoner,—every change that makes London labour more competent to form a self-sufficing community for the performance of work essential to the life of a great city, must lessen the differential advantage which the countryman at present enjoys, and which from the London point of view furnishes the chief motive power of the influx of population.

Birthplaces of applicants for relief from the Charity Organization Society at various centres in London (1889-90*).

—	Total applicants.	Born in London	Born outside London. Resident in London.				
			Under 1 year.	1—5 yrs.	5—10.	10—20.	20 and upwds.
South London.							
Battersea	429	214	19	32	51	62	51
Wandsworth	60	26	2	6	10	11	5
Sydenham	53	24	0	2	6	9	12
Southwark	200	99	(not	kept)	—	—	—
Lambeth	209	113	9	11	13	20	43
Greenwich	210	132	7	19	17	25	10
Camberwell	401	267	11	23	32	24	44
Brixton	85	33	4	12	13	16	7
North London.							
N. St. Pancras	201	114	3	16	12	20	36
S. St. Pancras	205	109	10	10	7	18	50
Holborn	126	69	8	9	4	13	23
East London.							
Hackney	126	70	3	8	7	21	17
St. George's, E.†	357	254	—	(not	kept)	—	—
Mile End†	336	232	—	(not	kept)	—	—
Central London.							
St. James's, Soho,‡ and West Strand	346	112	132	29	27	24	22

Table showing the number and proportion of London born persons residing in the large towns of England and Wales, 1881.

—	Population.	No. born in London.	Do. per 1000 of Population.
Cheshire.			
Stockport	59,553	411	6·90
Birkenhead	84,006	1,206	14·35
Derbyshire.			
Derby	81,168	1,373	16·91
Devonshire.			
Plymouth	73,794	1,593	21·58
Durham.			
Gateshead	65,803	551	8·37
South Shields	56,875	729	12·81
Sunderland	116,548	1,403	12·03
Essex.			
West Ham	128,953	38,478	298·38

* In some cases the figures have only been taken for part of the year.

† 1888-9. ‡ Includes the "Homeless cases." See p. 220, Vol. I.

—	Population.	No. born in London.	Do. per 1000 of Population.
Gloucestershire.			
Bristol	206,874	4,869	23·53
Hants.			
Portsmouth	127,989	6,984	54·56
Southampton	60,051	2,473	41·18
Lancashire.			
Blackburn	104,014	370	3·55
Bolton	105,414	498	4·72
Burnley	58,751	231	3·93
Bury	52,213	206	3·94
Liverpool	552,508	7,298	13·20
Manchester	341,414	4,462	13·06
Oldham	111,343	455	4·08
Preston	96,537	494	5·11
Rochdale	61,866	304	4·41
St. Helen's	57,403	220	3·83
Salford	176,235	1,988	11,28
Leicestershire.			
Leicester	122,376	2,061	16·84
Norfolk.			
Norwich	87,842	2,063	23·48
Northamptonshire.			
Northampton	51,881	1,741	33·55
Northumberland.			
Newcastle-on-Tyne	145,359	1,992	13·70
Nottinghamshire.			
Nottingham	186,575	2,806	15·03
Somersetshire.			
Bath	51,814	1,870	36·09
Staffordshire.			
Walsall	58,795	528	8·98
West Bromwich	56,295	309	5·48
Wolverhampton	75,766	791	10·44
Suffolk.			
Ipswich	50,546	1,824	36·08
Surrey.			
Croydon	78,953	18,219	230·75
Sussex.			
Brighton	107,546	11,361	105·63
Warwickshire.			
Aston Manor	53,842	1,142	21·21
Birmingham	400,774	7,941	19·81
Yorkshire.			
Bradford	183,032	1,451	7·92
Halifax	73,630	532	7·22
Huddersfield	81,841	355	4·33
Kingston-on-Hull	154,240	2,830	18·34
Leeds	309,119	3,227	10·43
Middlesbrough	55,934	760	13·58
Sheffield	284,508	2,922	10·27
Wales.			
Glamorgan.			
Cardiff	82,761	1,468	17·73
Swansea	65,597	787	11·99
Ystradyfodwg	55,632	118	2·12

A MAP OF LONDON

SHOWING THE PROPORTION OF THE INHABITANTS OF EACH REGISTRATION SUB-DISTRICT IN 1881, BORN IN OTHER PARTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Under 20 per cent.	
From 20 to 30 per cent.	
,, 30 ,, 40 ,,	
,, 40 ,, 50 ,,	
,, 50 ,, 60 ,,	

HAMPSTEAD · ST PANCRAS · ISLINGTON · HACKNEY · MARYLEBONE · SHOREDITCH · BETHNAL GREEN · HOLBORN · WHITECHAPEL · MILE END OLD TOWN · ST GEORGES EAST · STERNEY · ST GILES · WESTMINSTER · ST GEORGES HANOVER SQUARE · KENSINGTON · CHELSEA · ST SAVIOUR SOUTHWARK · ST OLAVE SOUTHWARK · FULHAM · WANDSWORTH · CLAPHAM · CAMBERWELL · BRIXTON · LAMBETH · GREENWICH · LEWISHAM · WOOLWICH · PLUMSTEAD · CHARLTON · BLACKHEATH · STRATFORD · WEST HAM · PLAISTOW · EAST HAM · BECKTON · SILVERTOWN · LEYTON · LEYTON STONE · WANSTEAD · FOREST GATE · PLASHET · UPTON · STRATFORD NEW TN · HARROW GREEN · CROUCH END · HORNSEY · GOLDERS GREEN · CHILDS HILL · CRICKLEWOOD · WILLESDEN · WILLESDEN GREEN · HARLESDEN GREEN · SHOOT UP HILL · KILBURN · HAMPSTEAD · BRENT RESERVOIR · EAST ACTON · ACTON VALE · SHEPHERDS BUSH · NORTH END · FULHAM · WALHAM GREEN · PARSONS GR · CASTELNAU · BARNES · PUTNEY · WESTHILL · WIMBLEDON PARK · WIMBLEDON · Wimbledon Common · Copse Hill · NEW WIMBLEDON · MERTON · MITCHAM · MALDEN · Canon Hill · R. Wandle · Mitcham · THORNTON HEATH · SOUTH NORWOOD · UPPER NORWOOD · LOWER NORWOOD · STREATHAM · LOWER TOOTING · WANDSWORTH (Dist.) · PENGE · BECKENHAM · NEW BECKENHAM · SHORTLANDS · BROMLEY · NEW BROMLEY · WIDMORE · CHISLEHURST · SIDCUP · FOOTS CRAY · HALFWAY STREET · BELL GROVE · WELLING · EAST WICKHAM · MOTTINGHAM · CHELSEA (Dist.) · Hampstead Heath · Highgate Wood · Finsbury Park · Victoria Park · Hackney Marsh · Wanstead Flats · Plaistow Marsh · West Marsh · East Ham Level · Barking Creek · Barking Reach · Barking Point · Gallions Reach · Woolwich Reach · Royal Dock Yard · Blackwall Reach · Limehouse Reach · Deptford R. · Greenwich R. · Lower Pool · Upper Pool · Erith Marshes · Crossness · Abbey Wood · Plumstead Marshes · Shooters Hill · Oldbury Hill · Danson Park · Meadow Mall · Camden Park · Chislehurst Common · St Paul Cray Common · Scadbury Park · Eden · Keston · Elmers End · Addington Hills · Norwood Junction · Crystal Palace · Sydenham Hill · Dulwich · Peckham Rye · Nunhead · Honor Oak · Forest Hill · Sydenham · Lewisham · Blackheath · Greenwich · Deptford · Rotherhithe · Bermondsey · Camberwell · Clapham · Brixton · Streatham · Tooting · Putney · Barnes · Chiswick · Kensington · Paddington · Marylebone · Islington · Hampstead · Highgate · Tottenham · Edmonton · Walthamstow · Leyton · Ilford · Barking · Dagenham · Romford · Hornchurch · Upminster · Rainham · Purfleet · Dartford · Crayford · Bexley · Erith · Belvedere · Abbey Wood · Woolwich · Plumstead · Charlton · Deptford · Rotherhithe · Bermondsey · Lambeth · Battersea · Fulham · Hammersmith · Shepherds Bush · Acton · Ealing · Hanwell · Brentford · Isleworth · Hounslow · Feltham · Staines · Windsor · Eton · Slough · Uxbridge · Harrow · Wembley · Kingsbury · Hendon · Finchley · Friern Barnet · Southgate · Enfield · Edmonton · Tottenham · Walthamstow · Leyton · Ilford · Barking · Dagenham · Romford · Hornchurch · Upminster · Rainham · Purfleet · Dartford · Crayford · Bexley · Erith · Belvedere · Abbey Wood · Woolwich · Plumstead · Charlton · Deptford · Rotherhithe · Bermondsey · Lambeth · Battersea · Fulham · Hammersmith · Shepherds Bush · Acton · Ealing · Hanwell · Brentford · Isleworth · Hounslow · Feltham · Staines · Windsor · Eton · Slough · Uxbridge · Harrow · Wembley · Kingsbury · Hendon · Finchley · Friern Barnet · Southgate · Enfield

SCALE, 1 INCH TO 1 MILE

FURLONGS 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 MILE

NOTE:- The statistics upon which this map is based are given in appendix B. 7.

London. Stanford's Geog.l Estab.t

APPENDIX-TABLES TO CHAPTER III.

Table I.—Showing birthplaces of persons born in other parts of the United Kingdom or abroad who were living in the under-stated registration districts and sub-districts of London in 1881.

County of Birth.	Paddington.			Kensington.			Fulham.				St. George, Hanover Square.					
		2		1	2		1	2	3		1	2	3	4	5	
	St. Mary, Paddington.	St. John, Paddington.	Total.	Kensington Town.	Brompton.	Total.	St. Peter, Hammersmith.	St. Paul, Hammersmith.	Fulham.	Total.	Hanover Square.	Mayfair.	Belgrave.	St. John, Westminster.	St. Margaret, Westminster.	Total
Population	39888	37330	107218	120141	43010	163151	7599	64340	42900	114839	16862	13491	59220	35496	24679	149748
South-Eastern Counties—																
Surrey, part of	1027	819	1846	2334	1029	3363	178	1255	693	2126	359	301	1317	432	452	2861
Kent, part of	1603	1087	2690	2884	1300	4184	165	1393	709	2267	480	399	1629	714	616	3838
Sussex	1169	850	2019	1940	915	2855	78	820	502	1400	334	293	1315	439	440	2821
Hampshire	1246	836	2082	2401	1088	3489	137	1119	537	1793	357	323	1512	581	472	3245
Berkshire	1213	726	1939	2153	725	2878	120	1056	431	1607	310	261	896	374	438	2279
South Midland Counties—																
Middlesex, part of	2077	946	3023	6591	1266	7857	506	3143	858	4507	424	366	1177	707	374	3048
Hertford	927	619	1546	1366	605	1971	59	669	347	1075	242	217	750	289	270	1768
Buckingham	1023	538	1561	1547	491	2038	110	978	322	1410	175	174	659	252	240	1500
Oxford	837	487	1324	1546	514	2060	70	660	292	1022	201	179	602	263	244	1489
Northampton	394	251	645	696	262	958	34	414	139	587	127	141	485	150	152	1055
Huntingdon	150	96	246	287	138	425	10	129	52	191	45	43	156	53	73	370
Bedford	346	177	523	572	208	780	26	279	114	419	82	87	277	124	126	696
Cambridge	505	312	817	893	393	1286	45	328	230	603	160	153	503	227	210	1253
Eastern Counties—																
Essex	1517	1077	2594	2806	1054	3860	140	1322	700	2162	434	354	1358	640	510	3296
Suffolk	1183	920	2103	2033	826	2859	65	927	490	1482	374	296	1211	479	441	2801
Norfolk	1027	854	1881	1954	805	2759	77	733	427	1237	373	284	1274	498	493	2922
South-Western Counties—																
Wilts	1213	610	1823	1958	663	2621	106	881	357	1344	218	261	966	353	324	2122
Dorset	486	311	797	826	393	1219	36	353	272	661	152	134	645	197	205	1333
Devon	2104	982	3086	3264	1044	4308	91	1268	606	1965	408	319	1410	590	526	3253
Cornwall	613	256	869	922	266	1188	62	299	137	498	88	87	407	166	130	878
Somerset	1635	928	2563	2591	944	3535	126	1024	418	1568	323	278	1136	453	473	2663
West Midland Counties—																
Gloucester	1234	615	1849	1859	728	2587	65	782	386	1233	245	222	938	354	335	2094
Hereford	253	174	427	367	185	552	16	144	64	224	80	64	230	87	107	568
Shropshire	244	161	405	391	196	587	16	150	74	240	112	90	298	59	88	647

Stafford	276	165	441	537	221	758	26	264	147	437	79	91	338	141	175	824
Worcester	299	192	491	494	217	711	17	210	72	299	84	90	273	88	110	645
Warwick	545	303	848	983	439	1422	32	477	225	734	146	130	463	240	211	1190
North Midland Counties—																
Leicester	194	133	327	366	147	513	16	154	68	238	84	75	241	92	102	594
Rutland	38	35	73	83	49	132	5	26	11	42	29	25	76	20	35	185
Lincoln	424	261	685	711	340	1051	45	393	175	613	141	131	496	145	187	1100
Nottingham	136	145	281	327	148	475	15	140	79	234	42	67	207	113	118	547
Derby	126	78	204	276	113	389	4	121	50	175	41	48	144	81	94	408
North-Western Counties—																
Cheshire	128	128	256	333	129	462	12	151	60	223	45	57	183	74	70	429
Lancashire	527	475	1002	1326	554	1880	50	579	213	842	181	163	486	402	284	1516
York	616	489	1105	1229	569	1798	47	648	282	977	262	237	760	349	336	1944
Northern Counties—																
Durham	128	85	213	272	123	395	13	163	82	258	43	39	145	56	89	372
Northumberland	136	100	236	273	107	380	8	153	69	230	51	58	151	67	88	415
Berwick-on-Tweed	3	13	16	17	2	19	—	3	2	5	3	6	14	2	4	29
Cumberland	75	50	125	159	76	235	17	73	23	113	29	34	96	19	61	239
Westmoreland	37	25	62	46	32	78	3	14	8	25	9	8	31	7	25	80
Monmouthshire and Wales—																
Monmouth	166	93	259	280	104	384	13	115	70	198	39	32	96	56	52	275
Glamorgan	175	82	257	204	91	295	12	94	52	158	33	35	102	49	55	274
Carmarthen	66	35	101	77	51	128	2	24	26	52	9	10	44	12	16	91
Pembroke	118	79	197	189	64	253	9	52	41	102	26	26	76	29	35	192
Cardigan	65	22	87	42	26	68	1	19	5	25	22	14	54	22	19	131
Brecknock	61	27	88	60	32	92	2	21	4	27	11	12	35	11	6	75
Radnor	22	8	30	30	22	52	—	12	3	15	13	12	28	6	4	63
Montgomery	41	42	83	81	51	132	1	32	22	55	28	19	54	13	19	133
Flint	12	20	32	40	19	59	5	10	8	23	12	9	40	4	21	86
Denbigh	49	38	87	40	37	77	1	20	10	31	7	13	70	13	21	124
Merioneth	21	19	40	25	20	45	3	16	—	19	8	8	32	7	15	70
Carnarvon	32	18	50	31	31	62	3	17	7	27	9	3	26	8	8	54
Anglesey	21	14	35	23	13	36	—	9	5	14	4	7	23	4	4	42
Wales (county not stated)	129	91	220	266	102	368	7	64	29	100	59	29	144	34	48	314
England (county not stated)	257	142	399	803	265	1068	32	397	123	552	83	125	285	172	188	853
Scotland	1035	1076	2111	2406	1393	3799	83	782	373	1238	501	501	1490	465	827	3784
Islands in the British Seas	137	65	202	232	106	338	9	119	58	186	38	30	106	49	39	262
Ireland	1221	755	1976	3720	1260	4980	77	1228	1085	2390	387	493	1655	1348	796	4679
Total born in other parts of United Kingdom	31342	19935	51277	60162	22991	83153	2908	26726	12644	42278	8661	7963	29615	12679	11901	70819
Percentage of population	(44·8)	(53·4)	(47·8)	(50·1)	(53·4)	(50·9)	(38·2)	(41·5)	(29·5)	(36·8)	(51·4)	(59·0)	(50·0)	(35·7)	(48·2)	(47·3)
Born abroad	3053	2335	5388	5752	2702	8454	127	1646	681	2454	785	735	2002	485	810	4817
Total born outside London	34395	22270	56665	65914	25693	91607	3035	28372	13325	44732	9446	8698	31617	13164	12711	75636
Percentage of population	49·2	39·7	52·8	54·8	59·7	56·2	39·9	44·1	31·1	38·9	56·0	64·5	53·4	37·1	51·5	50·5

Table I. continued.—Showing birthplaces of persons born in other parts of the United Kingdom or abroad who were living in the under-stated registration districts and sub-districts of London in 1881.

County of Birth.	Chelsea.				Westminster.				Marylebone.							Hampstead
	1	2	3		1	2	3		1	2	3	4	5	6		
	Chelsea, South.	Chelsea, North West.	Chelsea, North East.	Total.	Golden Square.	Berwick Street.	St. Anne, Soho.	Total.	All Souls.	Cavendish Square.	Rectory.	St. Mary.	Christchurch.	St. John.	Total.	Total
Population	30396	24925	32807	88128	11608	18333	16608	46549	26759	14891	24809	21118	33700	33633	154910	45452
South-Eastern Counties—																
Surrey, part of	513	431	559	1503	164	225	161	550	333	299	336	329	437	478	2212	782
Kent, part of	684	542	741	1967	220	421	199	840	489	417	538	490	600	681	3215	1020
Sussex	464	422	585	1471	141	254	104	499	362	310	356	393	411	417	2249	600
Hampshire	595	437	573	1605	169	276	164	609	341	324	421	351	434	575	2446	731
Berkshire	354	316	606	1276	127	169	114	410	286	232	342	339	321	392	1912	505
South Midland Counties—																
Middlesex, part of	1140	497	2425	4062	280	372	460	1112	569	406	810	470	931	1110	4296	1595
Hertford	251	236	390	877	118	145	82	345	239	219	254	321	369	436	1838	877
Buckingham	260	223	423	906	62	168	70	300	184	146	199	215	340	380	1464	556
Oxford	210	222	360	792	66	150	78	294	235	141	219	245	312	317	1469	393
Northampton	158	111	202	471	64	143	90	297	130	124	88	134	137	192	805	348
Huntingdon	84	56	80	220	29	30	25	84	55	35	68	70	56	76	360	154
Bedford	123	103	226	452	35	71	41	147	99	68	108	92	134	147	648	396
Cambridge	219	168	240	627	75	122	64	261	187	141	167	143	194	243	1075	438
Eastern Counties—																
Essex	576	452	637	1665	166	307	166	639	483	376	520	480	628	745	3232	1324
Suffolk	463	409	538	1410	183	272	133	588	376	348	388	463	576	522	2673	796
Norfolk	407	320	531	1258	122	267	116	505	368	331	400	408	460	514	2481	697
South-Western Counties—																
Wilts	308	329	499	1136	124	210	109	443	257	197	260	264	324	369	1671	477
Dorset	204	162	218	584	71	87	55	213	139	138	179	144	140	184	924	254
Devon	551	472	660	1683	269	337	208	814	576	418	469	471	511	584	3029	865
Cornwall	155	130	185	470	52	85	49	186	113	118	117	97	162	127	734	268
Somerset	452	377	530	1359	145	266	155	566	449	342	446	447	512	547	2743	750
West Midland Counties—																
Gloucester	320	306	475	1101	175	205	154	534	293	209	336	337	403	468	2046	650
Hereford	61	58	89	208	19	35	43	97	82	59	60	97	82	90	470	151
Shropshire	101	70	94	265	32	63	17	112	59	73	77	114	84	87	504	112
Stafford	142	82	141	365	39	84	33	156	129	74	84	84	93	122	586	211

Worcester	90	77	116	283	31	51	27	109	77	70	109	116	92	122	586	181
Warwick	193	155	234	582	76	137	126	339	259	115	161	157	212	227	1131	407
North Midland Counties—																
Leicester	87	60	92	239	35	58	29	122	67	49	61	78	74	85	414	160
Rutland	16	13	17	46	6	14	10	30	22	18	25	14	23	20	122	28
Lincoln	133	130	180	443	80	109	48	237	131	135	156	122	142	188	874	351
Nottingham	111	85	82	278	18	54	31	103	70	58	67	87	64	81	427	157
Derby	79	32	74	185	11	30	10	51	41	35	57	46	46	60	285	145
North-Western Counties—																
Cheshire	64	29	50	143	19	46	15	80	37	56	37	50	33	59	272	130
Lancashire	245	192	160	597	94	180	131	405	196	196	176	149	177	208	1102	518
York	341	200	260	801	110	197	116	423	249	207	262	217	216	294	1445	585
Northern Counties—																
Durham	76	48	47	171	24	24	15	63	45	40	47	40	40	60	272	98
Northumberland	58	41	67	166	24	41	20	85	63	47	45	60	54	64	333	110
Berwick-on-Tweed	8	5	4	17	3	5	—	8	5	2	4	3	4	5	23	5
Cumberland	26	19	31	76	24	23	13	60	29	36	31	19	33	37	185	51
Westmoreland	8	7	12	27	2	10	4	16	15	20	17	7	8	6	73	33
Monmouthshire and Wales—																
Monmouth	41	44	48	133	23	16	22	61	39	32	45	38	43	64	261	89
Glamorgan	37	36	52	125	20	31	20	71	31	30	51	37	37	25	221	78
Carmarthen	22	10	16	48	4	8	5	17	16	26	10	11	35	19	117	27
Pembroke	30	16	30	76	15	14	21	50	26	21	21	29	37	31	165	73
Cardigan	22	14	12	48	8	22	17	47	29	33	13	10	27	28	140	20
Brecknock	15	12	10	37	5	8	10	23	7	12	11	19	12	17	78	26
Radnor	13	8	10	31	2	7	4	13	12	6	6	7	11	4	46	18
Montgomery	36	13	22	71	13	17	3	33	24	24	18	15	15	16	112	38
Flint	7	1	9	17	1	10	1	12	6	13	9	7	15	6	56	14
Denbigh	8	9	17	34	3	9	6	18	13	20	11	18	13	13	88	28
Merioneth	6	4	7	17	2	6	2	10	4	7	3	5	6	7	32	6
Carnarvon	3	2	7	12	1	6	1	8	4	8	8	10	10	9	49	18
Anglesey	3	6	3	12	3	4	1	8	3	6	5	2	7	8	31	3
Wales (county not stated)	50	36	46	132	25	48	17	90	50	64	76	46	56	56	348	78
England (county not stated)	142	212	174	528	122	129	103	354	129	67	121	69	140	248	774	222
Scotland	632	295	448	1375	194	392	213	799	487	429	394	398	412	392	2512	909
Islands in the British Seas	62	57	48	167	27	30	28	85	44	37	37	29	33	46	226	69
Ireland	938	654	793	2385	539	752	558	1849	619	370	1349	713	913	784	4748	726
Total born in other parts of United Kingdom	12397	9453	15185	37035	4511	7252	4517	16280	9682	7834	10685	9626	11701	13102	62630	20351
Percentage of population	(40·7)	(37·9)	(46·3)	(42·0)	(38·8)	(39·5)	(27·2)	(34·9)	(36·2)	(52·6)	(43·1)	(45·5)	(34·7)	(38·9)	(40·4)	(44·8)
Born abroad	622	457	590	1669	737	1367	1736	3840	1968	795	819	610	694	954	5840	1992
Total born outside London	13019	9910	15775	38704	5248	8619	6253	20120	11650	8629	11504	10236	12395	14056	68470	22343
Percentage of population	42·8	39·7	48·1	43·9	45·2	47·0	37·6	43·2	43·6	57·9	46·2	48·4	36·8	41·8	44·2	49·2

Table I. continued.—Showing birthplaces of persons born in other parts of the United Kingdom or abroad who were living in the under-stated registration districts and sub-districts of London in 1881.

County of Birth.	St. Pancras.							Islington.			St. Giles.				Strand.			
	1	2	3	4	5	6		1	2		1	2	3		1	2	3	
	Regent's Park.	Tottenham Court Road.	Gray's Inn Lane.	Somers Town.	Camden Town.	Kentish Town.	Total.	Islington, West.	Islington, East.	Total.	St. George's, Bloomsbury.	St. Giles's, South.	St. Giles's, North.	Total.	St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.	St Mary-le-Strand.	St. Clement Danes.	Total.
Population	39115	27729	30247	34369	17311	87487	236258	121452	161413	282865	16681	14864	13837	45382	17508	7515	8559	33582
South-Eastern Counties—																		
Surrey, part of	490	370	365	307	188	1083	2803	1294	1643	2937	234	140	144	518	253	107	107	467
Kent, part of	716	467	543	488	318	1577	4109	1927	2896	4823	323	203	182	708	380	177	179	736
Sussex	487	308	290	299	177	884	2445	934	1382	2316	192	126	80	398	210	79	70	359
Hampshire.....	549	321	377	331	178	1082	2838	1438	1702	3140	213	144	144	501	255	109	118	482
Berkshire	497	250	249	236	163	796	2191	839	983	1822	179	87	92	358	197	67	56	320
South Midland Counties—																		
Middlesex, part of	799	923	1437	880	722	4977	9738	4927	5923	10850	638	451	281	1370	765	361	181	1307
Hertford	558	252	293	350	270	1662	3385	2084	2345	4429	162	98	108	368	129	62	46	237
Buckingham	367	169	187	229	174	1373	2499	1019	1146	2165	96	86	70	252	93	31	46	170
Oxford	276	163	186	175	130	725	1655	725	843	1568	139	72	59	270	172	37	34	203
Northampton.....	252	143	150	223	114	798	1680	844	824	1668	75	50	51	176	88	31	21	140
Huntingdon	99	48	100	77	46	290	660	567	464	1031	39	20	22	81	37	15	19	71
Bedford	191	121	170	169	130	863	1644	1143	1230	2379	74	33	33	140	56	24	25	105
Cambridge	269	214	185	181	102	779	1730	1257	1344	2601	141	101	57	299	136	56	47	239
Eastern Counties—																		
Essex	843	471	592	472	334	1949	4661	2787	3993	6780	343	188	177	708	289	104	145	538
Suffolk	586	352	462	342	226	1278	3246	1797	2227	4024	278	141	113	532	233	74	83	390
Norfolk	642	343	453	418	261	1228	3345	1850	2136	3986	229	151	144	524	208	68	77	353
South-Western Counties—																		
Wilts	385	212	263	242	144	747	1993	1020	1090	2110	150	55	98	303	164	51	50	265
Dorset.....	229	115	142	105	62	360	1013	589	694	1283	71	49	36	156	91	37	30	158
Devon	860	451	489	519	307	1461	4087	1902	2389	4291	256	182	199	637	254	125	120	499
Cornwall.....	169	119	148	118	57	427	1038	495	735	1230	56	26	48	130	52	24	23	99
Somerset	581	378	357	398	246	1240	3200	1592	1724	3316	234	98	160	492	240	74	85	399
West Midland Counties—																		
Gloucester	453	268	290	334	185	889	2419	1082	1406	2488	162	120	107	389	185	82	84	351
Hereford.....	88	49	59	62	29	163	450	202	261	463	42	27	37	106	36	16	13	65
Shropshire	106	53	68	77	35	166	505	175	244	419	39	13	29	81	45	10	11	66

Stafford	188	87	119	88	60	407	949	391	498	889	63	42	39	144	71	26	35	132
Worcester	140	72	73	77	48	299	709	296	387	683	50	27	25	102	41	10	22	73
Warwick	334	195	264	269	122	768	1952	1027	1284	2311	153	99	108	360	126	35	69	230
North Midland Counties—																		
Leicester	103	71	65	77	40	342	698	343	365	708	48	22	27	97	40	21	14	75
Rutland	20	15	15	14	7	69	140	69	63	132	7	3	6	16	7	2	5	14
Lincoln	239	156	212	164	104	564	1439	1049	1009	2058	74	30	46	150	80	30	36	146
Nottingham	88	60	75	48	37	298	606	349	394	743	41	22	21	84	51	16	21	88
Derby	74	35	40	83	36	383	651	229	260	489	21	9	11	41	36	18	14	68
North-Western Counties—																		
Cheshire	71	56	51	58	26	161	423	198	240	438	34	4	21	59	42	17	12	71
Lancashire	320	190	265	254	136	713	1878	919	1200	2119	203	136	97	436	172	39	83	294
York	412	289	289	216	181	829	2216	1283	1487	2770	221	101	83	405	224	66	81	371
Northern Counties—																		
Durham	103	53	59	46	24	161	446	201	288	489	33	17	18	68	20	16	21	57
Northumberland	85	39	73	56	23	140	416	245	301	546	29	20	31	80	36	17	15	68
Berwick-on Tweed	13	4	3	3	—	16	39	22	14	36	—	1	2	3	1	—	1	2
Cumberland	65	24	34	45	17	68	253	131	186	317	19	5	4	28	14	9	11	34
Westmoreland	20	8	10	7	6	49	100	57	64	121	4	4	8	16	7	3	—	10
Monmouthshire and Wales—																		
Monmouth	57	50	48	35	22	112	324	135	197	332	41	8	8	57	29	5	9	43
Glamorgan	66	37	37	31	17	106	294	133	183	316	36	11	4	51	30	14	8	52
Carmarthen	39	21	10	10	10	50	140	52	87	139	14	6	3	23	15	5	4	24
Pembroke	38	25	19	24	11	64	181	84	85	169	5	4	15	24	7	1	7	15
Cardigan	30	32	21	12	21	80	196	70	223	293	27	5	11	43	12	8	7	27
Brecknock	26	11	17	15	4	33	106	43	50	93	12	8	4	24	11	7	12	30
Radnor	9	15	9	6	6	12	57	13	23	36	6	2	2	10	7	5	2	14
Montgomery	34	5	17	16	6	40	118	72	78	150	4	8	3	15	14	7	7	28
Flint	10	2	4	2	3	17	38	26	28	54	7	1	—	8	4	—	2	6
Denbigh	18	11	15	11	6	31	92	32	43	75	4	—	—	4	9	2	2	13
Merioneth	6	9	1	8	—	15	39	9	39	48	2	5	3	10	1	—	3	4
Carnarvon	18	5	1	8	3	16	51	27	53	80	—	—	6	6	5	—	3	8
Anglesey	9	4	2	4	1	10	30	11	14	25	3	2	—	5	6	—	2	8
Wales (county not stated)	50	53	44	46	21	115	329	150	297	447	40	47	15	102	37	7	13	57
England (county not stated)	171	157	176	210	48	342	1104	626	1013	1639	135	119	93	347	98	56	38	192
Scotland	718	425	507	385	290	977	3302	1474	2275	3749	306	167	169	642	420	105	114	639
Islands in the British Seas	69	57	49	36	32	116	359	160	227	387	25	15	10	50	25	14	13	52
Ireland	685	635	578	759	375	1006	4038	1335	1883	3218	383	1114	579	2076	633	300	445	1378
Total born in other parts of United Kingdom	14820	9468	11057	10155	6341	35206	87047	43756	54462	98218	6415	4725	3943	15083	6859	2682	2801	12342
Percentage of population	(3 7·	(34·2)	(36·	(29·5)	(36·6)	(40·2)	(36·7)	(36·0)	(33·7)	(34·7)	(38·4)	(31·8)	(28·5)	(33·2)	(39·2)	(35·7)	(32·7)	(36·8)
Born abroad	1113	1651	756	682	344	1507	6053	1965	3848	5813	925	284	601	1810	1072	223	202	1497
Total born outside London	15933	11119	11813	10837	6685	36713	93100	45721	58310	104031	7340	5009	4544	16893	7931	2905	3003	13839
Percentage of population	40·8	40·1	39·0	31·5	38·6	41·9	39·0	37·6	35·2	37·0	44·0	33·7	32·1	37·2	45·3	38·7	35·1	43 0

Table I. continued.—Showing birthplaces of persons born in other parts of the United Kingdom or abroad who were living in the under-stated registration districts and sub-districts of London, in 1881.

County of Birth.	Holborn.											London City.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9	8 & 10	11		1	2	3	4	5	6 & 7	
	St. George Martyr.	St. Andrew, Eastern.	Saffron Hill.	St. James, Clerkenwell.	Amwell.	Pentonville.	Goswell Street.	City Road.	Old Street and Whitecross Street.	Finsbury.	Total.	St. Botolph.	Cripplegate.	St. Sepulchre.	St. Bride.	Castle Baynard.	All Hallow's, Barking and Broad Street.	Total.
Population	18671	10706	6533	17516	19281	14773	17506	18628	20758	7463	151835	11174	7193	5358	8396	9985	9333	51439
South Eastern Counties—																		
Surrey, part of	231	73	71	176	157	183	190	139	167	72	1459	97	83	84	136	199	157	756
Kent, part of	347	95	88	226	273	212	238	199	208	125	2011	144	149	118	201	321	212	1145
Sussex	215	46	37	98	138	120	105	103	108	54	1024	61	64	55	85	144	125	534
Hampshire	217	40	65	116	175	136	135	122	117	105	1228	84	64	62	108	178	120	616
Berkshire	137	31	33	69	102	101	88	65	88	42	756	40	48	—	68	142	80	378
South Midland Counties—																		
Middlesex, part of	541	683	209	334	577	406	483	384	495	172	4284	232	172	279	302	228	295	1508
Hertford	150	68	47	140	120	242	139	127	125	56	1214	58	67	72	82	126	83	488
Buckingham	99	42	31	64	99	105	79	74	60	37	690	45	33	30	52	98	61	319
Oxford	138	27	27	84	100	66	66	51	79	50	688	35	29	18	55	85	47	269
Northampton	75	26	23	58	66	77	63	96	56	47	587	16	23	25	33	50	34	181
Huntingdon	47	15	1	32	28	24	38	18	16	7	226	15	17	11	18	28	16	105
Bedford	57	22	30	82	66	133	66	78	62	32	628	17	29	16	40	52	53	207
Cambridge	115	39	46	73	101	119	96	59	84	38	770	61	50	34	72	79	75	371
Eastern Counties—																		
Essex	348	101	106	262	309	244	271	260	281	173	2355	237	177	138	161	327	323	1363
Suffolk	316	82	76	140	187	171	174	189	149	91	1575	83	114	91	121	208	173	790
Norfolk	219	55	70	189	170	217	126	137	133	73	1389	104	94	78	101	186	149	712
South-Western Counties—																		
Wilts	129	34	23	80	106	112	89	66	92	27	758	41	55	41	55	105	74	371
Dorset	64	12	23	34	48	47	26	35	37	21	347	35	28	17	38	76	32	226
Devon	291	99	54	160	229	219	182	187	185	79	1685	97	105	93	140	246	133	814
Cornwall	61	16	23	36	70	52	38	46	40	24	406	22	39	21	48	171	40	341
Somerset	230	50	65	152	151	150	145	144	142	61	1290	90	68	63	95	151	116	583
West Midland Counties—																		
Gloucester	202	53	41	101	158	113	96	103	94	73	1034	66	67	41	76	118	75	443
Hereford	33	6	7	14	27	19	11	14	16	18	165	11	14	8	12	24	6	75
Shropshire	41	9	9	17	26	22	20	13	11	13	181	12	7	10	16	37	10	92
Stafford	44	21	18	81	59	47	57	70	53	26	476	22	15	21	33	37	22	150

Worcester	46	19	7	30	33	41	34	39	29	12	290	21	12	8	17	35	26	119
Warwick	198	66	50	256	245	141	230	167	208	50	1611	51	42	51	70	56	37	307
North Midland Counties—																		
Leicester	27	9	8	15	46	23	22	26	22	20	218	11	9	8	22	31	14	95
Rutland	12	3	2	4	6	15	6	—	7	1	56	—	1	2	4	6	1	14
Lincoln	81	30	17	43	65	92	42	41	77	30	518	35	29	30	37	66	50	247
Nottingham	57	21	5	25	38	32	28	35	27	13	281	20	22	16	12	34	11	115
Derby	21	10	8	28	31	15	21	13	19	10	176	6	9	10	14	22	8	69
North Western Counties—																		
Cheshire	24	16	4	16	20	27	16	14	16	9	162	10	6	5	16	16	11	64
Lancashire	181	63	35	92	137	106	92	64	96	58	924	58	35	37	85	77	55	347
York	163	43	43	143	158	126	147	65	100	54	1042	47	70	50	87	118	80	452
Northern Counties—																		
Durham	21	5	6	12	33	27	22	8	14	8	156	14	9	4	20	21	17	85
Northumberland	51	26	10	23	38	27	17	11	17	6	226	14	10	13	14	21	16	88
Berwick-on-Tweed	3	1	1	1	—	—	3	—	1	—	10	—	—	—	—	1	1	2
Cumberland	10	2	5	3	22	11	16	6	5	9	89	13	30	7	10	45	8	113
Westmoreland	8	1	2	—	2	4	1	—	3	1	22	4	3	2	1	14	1	25
Monmouthshire and Wales—																		
Monmouth	27	8	4	18	26	21	17	1	10	4	136	10	15	5	11	13	9	63
Glamorgan	21	11	6	20	25	8	10	6	26	7	140	12	11	6	22	24	4	79
Carmarthen	13	3	3	—	9	5	3	5	5	3	49	7	17	4	21	12	2	63
Pembroke	13	2	3	4	4	16	5	4	5	4	60	4	9	9	18	19	7	66
Cardigan	15	7	6	7	29	23	5	14	24	5	135	5	24	12	24	25	16	106
Brecknock	10	2	2	3	10	10	2	1	2	1	43	—	1	3	7	9	2	22
Radnor	6	1	2	—	3	2	6	1	—	3	24	—	1	1	3	5	3	13
Montgomery	11	1	2	2	6	8	7	6	10	2	55	—	16	8	7	9	12	52
Flint	4	1	1	2	1	—	1	7	2	—	19	1	1	—	4	6	1	13
Denbigh	6	3	1	1	2	3	1	1	4	—	22	1	2	—	6	2	8	19
Merioneth	7	—	—	1	1	2	1	2	4	1	19	—	9	2	—	6	3	20
Carnarvon	2	—	—	1	6	1	3	4	3	1	21	—	2	—	3	5	3	13
Anglesey	1	—	—	—	3	—	1	1	2	—	8	—	2	3	—	4	1	10
Wales (county not stated)	27	21	12	36	17	27	34	36	16	28	254	33	6	17	44	14	17	131
England (county not stated)	113	85	56	85	83	66	91	100	152	84	915	28	36	22	33	25	67	211
Scotland	236	91	57	152	345	181	163	91	125	79	1520	101	116	77	228	254	86	862
Islands in the British Seas	29	7	7	14	17	10	22	11	11	5	133	9	3	5	10	24	12	63
Ireland	515	840	269	272	314	190	205	290	401	250	3546	592	229	150	203	162	194	1530
Total born in other parts of the United Kingdom	6306	3143	1857	4127	5317	4597	4295	3849	4341	2274	40106	2832	2398	1993	3201	4597	3294	18315
Percentage of population	(33·8)	(29·3)	(28·4)	(23·5)	(27·6)	(31·1)	(24·5)	(20·7)	(20·0)	(30·5)	(26·4)	(25·3)	(33·3)	(37·2)	(38·1)	(46·0)	(35·3)	(35·6)
Born abroad	530	1053	418	346	478	194	382	291	265	340	4297	816	174	137	305	237	332	2001
Total born outside London	6836	4196	2275	4473	5795	4791	4677	4140	4606	2614	44403	3648	2572	2130	3506	4834	3626	20316
Percentage of population	36·6	39·2	34·9	25·5	30·1	32·4	26·7	22·2	22·1	35·0	29·2	32·7	35·8	39·9	41·8	48·4	38·8	39·5

Table I. continued.—Showing birthplaces of persons born in other parts of the United Kingdom or abroad who were living in the under-stated registration districts and sub-districts of London in 1881.

County of Birth.	St. Saviour, Southwark.									St. Olave, Southwark.					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		1 & 2	3	4	5	6	
	Christ Church.	St. Saviour.	Kent Road.	Borough Road.	London Road.	Trinity, Newington.	St. Peter, Walworth.	St. Mary, Newington.	Total.	St. Olave and St. John, Horsleydown.	Leather Market.	St. Mary Magdalen.	St. James, Bermondsey.	Rotherhithe.	Total.
Population	13663	14999	21381	15953	21318	26672	59555	21623	195164	11956	16300	15669	54683	36024	134632
South-Eastern Counties—															
Surrey, part of	292	198	1060	333	467	910	1659	599	5518	275	355	288	886	547	2351
Kent, part of	261	360	462	324	485	719	1517	558	4686	402	347	444	1890	1030	4113
Sussex	121	136	225	139	163	292	575	251	1902	122	136	171	519	277	1225
Hampshire	193	148	164	120	274	346	647	305	2197	143	167	173	538	363	1384
Berkshire	132	92	105	95	170	160	355	134	1243	51	88	72	342	196	749
South Midland Counties—															
Middlesex, part of	212	174	387	335	441	522	852	375	3298	198	178	160	592	395	1523
Hertford	118	116	118	92	128	208	363	151	1294	76	89	93	312	200	770
Buckingham	108	85	80	114	165	206	316	202	1276	49	69	86	202	112	518
Oxford	82	49	67	58	91	112	233	120	812	39	45	71	234	91	480
Northampton	47	45	61	57	69	118	268	79	744	42	42	39	153	68	344
Huntingdon	19	13	22	19	20	39	77	36	245	22	28	14	48	27	139
Bedford	47	57	29	24	92	79	152	76	556	30	24	46	107	99	306
Cambridge	86	82	93	37	112	148	263	121	942	68	56	49	242	177	592
Eastern Counties—															
Essex	239	329	343	258	359	517	958	417	3420	252	286	284	1072	838	2732
Suffolk	177	186	218	166	237	435	654	284	2357	101	150	183	651	464	1549
Norfolk	142	146	224	129	228	369	695	283	2216	135	150	145	600	405	1435
South-Western Counties—															
Wilts	126	92	116	87	149	222	350	172	1314	84	86	86	262	167	685
Dorset	63	38	70	35	91	105	228	101	731	43	24	27	183	152	429
Devon	168	152	203	139	294	374	654	340	2324	144	192	349	728	391	1804
Cornwall	47	35	43	36	71	101	161	142	636	35	44	17	156	110	362
Somerset	144	115	154	114	210	256	529	214	1736	83	118	116	431	215	963
West Midland Counties—															
Gloucester	111	110	138	135	205	275	463	207	1644	57	81	95	286	175	694
Hereford	17	7	26	25	27	32	57	41	232	17	11	30	48	22	128
Shropshire	28	14	12	20	37	38	77	42	268	6	12	17	41	22	98
Stafford	37	49	57	44	50	87	129	89	542	22	35	30	127	86	300

Worcester	43	35	56	46	58	48	117	49	452	17	19	40	119	58	253
Warwick	102	64	126	97	155	199	275	158	1176	29	68	64	223	111	495
North Midland Counties—															
Leicester	33	40	31	23	49	47	81	41	345	27	6	27	56	47	163
Rutland	1	3	—	1	2	3	5	9	24	—	—	2	5	5	12
Lincoln	46	56	65	44	78	98	164	111	662	56	43	52	133	112	396
Nottingham	36	35	46	40	40	51	78	50	376	20	20	13	76	42	171
Derby	23	18	13	28	30	55	68	31	266	10	7	12	49	32	110
North-Western Counties—															
Cheshire	13	16	19	19	43	25	63	32	230	16	9	9	49	27	110
Lancashire	144	84	109	134	130	212	257	178	1248	62	70	59	198	140	529
York	106	96	129	117	281	224	333	214	1500	97	102	98	388	248	933
Northern Counties—															
Durham	24	17	36	29	58	52	74	33	323	29	9	38	122	109	307
Northumberland	37	19	27	25	35	38	77	38	296	25	34	28	114	77	278
Berwick-on-Tweed	4	—	1	—	—	2	6	—	13	2	1	2	—	13	18
Cumberland	11	3	4	2	19	24	27	20	110	7	6	12	57	33	115
Westmoreland	3	3	6	—	2	1	7	4	26	2	2	3	10	4	21
Monmouthshire and Wales—															
Monmouth	14	4	12	7	14	20	35	44	150	6	5	7	22	12	52
Glamorgan	18	15	14	12	23	18	37	25	162	17	10	9	31	19	86
Carmarthen	2	1	7	4	12	7	9	5	47	3	5	4	13	14	39
Pembroke	5	5	5	5	8	16	19	10	73	4	5	4	20	20	53
Cardigan	10	30	9	25	19	24	34	11	162	18	23	14	14	10	79
Brecknock	8	3	6	3	3	4	8	4	39	8	2	2	7	3	22
Radnor	1	—	3	2	—	4	3	4	17	1	—	—	4	2	7
Montgomery	5	5	5	3		4	15	7	51	5	5	2	5	8	25
Flint	4	1	1	3	4	13	4	7	37	2	—	2	4	7	15
Denbigh	2	1	2	2	12	12	9	8	48	—	4	6	10	2	22
Merioneth	1	1	3	3	2	5	4	3	22	—	2	5	5	3	15
Carnarvon	4	1	1	2	5	—	3	3	19	7	6	1	17	2	33
Anglesey	1	—	—	—	1	2	1	4	9	6	—	—	1	—	7
Wales (county not stated)	32	103	28	20	34	65	62	14	358	38	26	23	58	32	177
England (county not stated)	101	90	126	106	155	150	325	42	1095	53	48	25	128	83	337
Scotland	152	85	108	107	208	273	337	248	1518	109	69	88	359	274	899
Islands in the British Seas	10	5	12	6	27	17	75	32	184	32	16	12	52	56	168
Ireland	251	533	574	475	398	474	494	265	3464	729	621	447	991	799	3587
Total born in other parts of the United Kingdom	4264	4200	6061	4325	6547	8857	15338	7043	56635	3933	4056	4195	13990	9033	35207
Percentage of population	(31·2)	(28·0)	(28·3)	(27·1)	(30·7)	(33·2)	(25·8)	(32·6)	(29·0)	(32·9)	(24·9)	(26·8)	(25·6)	(25·1)	(26·2)
Born abroad	190	161	270	145	250	331	520	324	2191	144	116	178	385	714	1537
Total born outside London	4454	4361	6331	4470	6797	9188	15858	7367	58826	4077	4172	4373	14375	9747	36744
Percentage of population	32·6	29·1	29·6	28·1	31·9	34·4	26·6	34·1	30·2	34·1	25·6	28·0	26·3	27·0	27·4

Table I. continued.—Showing birthplaces of persons born in other parts of the United Kingdom or abroad who were living in the under-stated registration districts and sub-districts of London in 1881.

County of Birth.	Lambeth.									Wandsworth.					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		1	2	3	4	5	
	Waterloo Road (1).	Waterloo Road (2).	LambethChurch(1)	LambethChurch(2)	Kennington (1).	Kennington (2).	Brixton.	Norwood.	Total.	Clapham.	Battersea.	Wandsworth.	Putney.	Streatham.	Total.
Population	15195	16351	19876	39859	45232	35332	62837	19017	253699	36380	107262	28004	13235	25553	210434
South-Eastern Counties—															
Surrey, part of	197	319	621	710	1139	865	1927	915	6693	1098	3115	1464	732	1790	8199
Kent, part of	362	333	468	847	1047	1031	2422	760	7270	1154	2978	706	321	969	6128
Sussex	138	182	219	428	635	539	1062	469	3672	680	2016	456	236	632	4020
Hampshire	223	334	309	546	1199	525	1276	370	4782	692	2797	714	306	589	5098
Berkshire	125	127	185	327	414	314	619	199	2310	382	1349	338	174	294	2537
South Midland Counties—															
Middlesex	254	300	618	630	633	732	1246	322	4735	689	2491	757	386	567	4890
Hertford	129	122	126	265	303	261	561	193	1960	294	846	246	152	303	1841
Buckingham	141	164	157	300	366	217	495	169	2009	280	796	322	134	246	1778
Oxford	73	112	106	156	281	244	388	182	1542	249	681	189	153	233	1505
Northampton	46	71	57	106	189	137	294	102	1002	158	513	104	60	144	979
Huntingdon	32	34	34	58	80	69	164	58	529	67	202	46	24	83	422
Bedford	54	61	57	129	103	139	233	84	860	177	445	96	60	142	920
Cambridge	101	113	96	164	283	243	573	135	1708	251	672	207	92	183	1405
Eastern Counties—															
Essex	282	247	361	743	999	825	1717	590	5764	901	1942	687	309	743	4582
Suffolk	185	228	214	450	622	571	1064	465	3799	624	1396	558	206	496	3280
Norfolk	155	197	264	409	528	430	933	280	3196	541	1281	330	196	360	2708
South-Western Counties—															
Wilts	143	174	192	303	660	320	615	212	2619	472	1388	284	169	284	2597
Dorset	45	93	115	182	527	189	396	148	1695	207	881	170	110	161	1529
Devon	202	293	351	526	879	589	1325	292	4457	620	1956	332	218	395	3521
Cornwall	68	64	93	142	202	148	406	92	1215	156	545	126	54	116	997
Somerset	146	181	246	421	617	364	900	211	3086	451	1589	293	180	315	2828
West Midland Counties—															
Gloucester	144	170	188	307	436	359	668	212	2484	351	1048	228	120	264	2011
Hereford	33	23	32	64	84	64	146	21	467	97	179	43	37	84	440
Shropshire	25	21	30	49	78	50	142	26	421	74	209	54	33	66	436

Stafford	28	33	52	145	157	92	240	67	814	130	436	103	42	99	810
Worcester	18	40	36	67	125	100	248	73	707	118	297	68	51	92	626
Warwick	80	101	127	191	253	221	435	96	1504	221	815	149	87	139	1411
North Midland Counties—															
Leicester	32	39	31	83	100	86	154	52	577	79	281	43	36	58	497
Rutland	2	7	5	8	15	9	26	5	77	16	40	14	6	15	91
Lincoln	55	67	84	126	212	148	407	117	1216	195	510	122	72	175	1074
Nottingham	33	41	45	56	81	66	147	30	499	77	246	60	29	73	485
Derby	14	19	35	46	74	52	122	46	408	84	258	53	33	64	492
North-Western Counties—															
Cheshire	23	20	36	26	85	65	138	34	427	94	212	51	25	59	441
Lancashire	96	108	153	218	336	272	675	154	2012	357	880	205	156	234	1832
York	98	143	160	267	392	296	650	181	2187	342	1040	204	105	286	1977
Northern Counties—															
Durham	19	21	44	53	110	51	179	55	532	89	275	79	27	63	533
Northumberland	33	24	36	32	91	52	149	27	444	83	208	45	29	53	418
Berwick-on-Tweed	2	—	—	3	8	4	11	—	28	1	9	—	2	3	15
Cumberland	4	10	17	16	35	38	80	26	226	34	101	11	20	28	194
Westmoreland	1	4	5	6	11	6	17	9	59	8	26	14	3	7	58
Monmouthshire and Wales—															
Monmouth	22	9	23	36	50	35	102	20	297	61	171	35	31	47	345
Glamorgan	12	19	17	24	44	27	84	24	251	28	243	19	15	43	348
Carmarthen	4	6	7	12	12	28	23	11	103	14	39	11	8	10	82
Pembroke	8	12	7	20	27	15	38	17	144	30	85	17	5	17	154
Cardigan	7	14	5	25	19	14	31	9	124	3	27	5	3	6	44
Brecknock	7	6	5	3	5	15	22	4	67	20	30	4	6	9	69
Radnor	1	4	3	4	7	4	16	5	44	10	27	10	5	4	56
Montgomery	2	6	4	17	7	18	37	12	103	17	38	5	5	11	76
Flint	3	2	2	3	6	8	27	6	57	3	20	3	15	1	42
Denbigh	5	3	4	6	11	17	27	7	80	12	19	9	3	16	59
Merioneth	3	—	3	3	1	2	7	1	20	9	14	3	6	4	36
Carnarvon	4	1	6	5	6	13	4	5	44	6	16	4	5	4	35
Anglesey	3	3	—	2	3	3	12	4	30	3	10	2	3	4	22
Wales (county not stated)	15	13	37	42	49	34	44	17	251	46	88	20	16	26	196
England (county not stated)	63	117	47	126	147	101	345	58	1004	81	331	104	81	55	652
Scotland	129	152	227	342	479	430	954	277	2990	469	1043	373	276	334	2495
Islands in the British Seas	23	21	28	40	65	65	117	31	390	48	167	31	12	33	291
Ireland	324	447	456	557	640	434	700	297	3855	558	1600	431	361	250	3200
Total born in other parts of the United Kingdom	4476	5475	6886	10872	15967	12046	25840	8284	89846	14011	40917	11057	6041	11781	83807
Percentage of population	(29·4)	(33·4)	(34·7)	(27·3)	(35·3)	(34·1)	(41·1)	(43·5)	(35·4)	(38·5)	(38·1)	(39·5)	(45·6)	(46·1)	39·8
Born abroad	201	229	262	344	661	529	1627	591	4444	845	1424	421	423	611	3724
Total born outside London	4677	5704	7148	11216	16628	12575	27467	8875	94290	14856	42341	11478	6464	12392	87531
Percentage of population	30·8	34·9	37·0	28·1	36·8	35 6	44·0	46·7	37·1	40·8	39·5	40·9	48·9	48·5	41·6

Table I. continued.—Showing birthplaces of persons born in other parts of the United Kingdom or abroad who were living in the under-stated registration districts and sub-districts of London in 1881.

County of Birth.	Camberwell.					Greenwich.					Lewisham.				
	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4	
	Dulwich.	Camberwell.	Peckham.	St. George.	Total.	St. Paul, Deptford.	St. Nicholas, Deptford.	Greenwich, West.	Greenwich, East.	Total.	Eltham.	Lee.	Lewisham.	Sydenham.	Total
Population	5590	59104	71089	50810	186593	76752	7901	21972	24608	131233	5827	21559	19865	26076	73327
South-Eastern Counties—															
Surrey, part of	213	1410	1570	1050	4243	1707	76	301	347	2431	175	485	485	1174	2319
Kent, part of	241	2066	2780	1464	6551	4087	250	1084	1424	6845	690	1401	1625	1485	5201
Sussex	134	926	1297	539	2896	1494	33	273	369	2169	127	469	422	773	1791
Hampshire	120	893	1074	581	2668	1109	81	319	840	2349	96	448	360	493	1397
Berkshire	76	447	512	345	1380	461	16	131	160	768	60	87	163	312	622
South Midland Counties—															
Middlesex, part of	112	1000	1038	744	2894	1058	47	241	266	1612	120	367	283	541	1311
Hertford	83	460	479	290	1312	473	38	119	147	777	53	202	188	318	761
Buckingham	47	320	393	224	984	362	26	87	134	609	42	146	118	242	548
Oxford	43	333	336	261	973	286	20	90	92	488	38	117	95	184	434
Northampton	29	256	250	150	685	261	12	86	80	439	29	75	78	123	305
Huntingdon	9	92	90	47	238	130	2	40	35	207	11	44	33	63	151
Bedford	24	203	247	101	575	175	18	65	67	325	28	75	61	161	325
Cambridge	60	385	432	228	1105	403	10	105	100	618	53	137	147	269	606
Eastern Counties—															
Essex	161	1369	1605	952	4087	1771	95	563	613	3042	199	673	644	901	2417
Suffolk	120	822	924	534	2400	955	54	291	323	1623	152	424	335	478	1389
Norfolk	84	731	870	560	2245	851	40	240	271	1402	115	324	254	482	1175
South-Western Counties—															
Wilts	68	430	566	313	1377	490	17	140	146	793	62	200	146	236	644
Dorset	43	265	299	195	802	320	35	104	150	609	22	144	91	190	447
Devon	92	867	993	526	2478	1200	58	311	648	2217	77	340	262	452	1131
Cornwall	35	306	276	147	764	328	27	128	141	624	17	143	88	163	411
Somerset	81	586	691	347	1705	654	39	216	201	1110	72	264	174	340	850
West Midland Counties—															
Gloucester	69	472	517	309	1367	504	44	176	145	869	37	194	124	197	552
Hereford	17	119	103	63	302	86	3	24	31	144	11	58	31	60	160
Shropshire	26	124	95	41	286	95	5	22	25	147	15	38	28	69	150
Stafford	25	205	215	133	578	260	13	56	76	405	23	79	50	76	228

Worcester	21	146	150	79	396	143	16	30	72	261	12	57	39	78	186
Warwick	38	404	406	295	1143	396	24	83	89	592	25	133	105	136	399
North Midland Counties—															
Leicester	19	143	149	77	388	109	14	40	36	199	15	46	39	47	147
Rutland	13	24	19	6	62	17	—	1	7	25	2	14	3	17	36
Lincoln	32	313	275	163	783	282	14	79	96	471	46	107	86	141	380
Nottingham	8	117	145	94	364	137	9	32	47	225	10	37	33	54	134
Derby	7	111	79	65	262	128	10	33	43	214	9	36	22	29	96
North-Western Counties—															
Cheshire	41	120	100	58	319	121	12	23	50	206	10	36	33	52	131
Lancashire	83	589	529	428	1629	534	34	123	135	826	31	208	177	179	595
York	64	618	556	335	1573	628	46	124	200	998	33	203	150	266	652
Northern Counties—															
Durham	9	131	128	55	323	287	46	47	69	449	7	57	36	67	167
Northumberland	12	87	116	51	266	168	16	42	39	265	9	40	29	54	132
Berwick-on-Tweed	1	7	7	4	19	17	—	1	2	20	—	5	—	2	7
Cumberland	8	58	53	21	140	45	—	14	18	77	1	19	23	19	62
Westmoreland	3	17	30	2	52	16	—	4	10	30	3	10	10	7	30
Monmouthshire and Wales—															
Monmouth	8	72	67	18	165	67	3	10	25	105	6	25	32	32	95
Glamorgan	7	67	60	38	172	96	7	13	29	145	2	29	19	37	87
Carmarthen	2	21	21	16	60	15	1	1	7	24	6	12	8	12	38
Pembroke	10	38	30	17	95	70	1	14	28	113	1	18	21	13	53
Cardigan	2	16	23	27	68	20	—	8	3	31	2	8	3	19	32
Brecknock	—	9	10	11	30	22	—	2	5	29	—	7	6	7	20
Radnor	1	15	11	6	33	4	—	—	2	6	1	4	1	6	12
Montgomery	3	26	21	8	58	11	—	5	11	27	—	18	6	9	33
Flint	—	6	12	12	30	11	—	—	6	17	—	4	3	3	10
Denbigh	1	15	15	3	34	12	—	4	8	24	—	6	2	3	11
Merioneth	—	6	8	2	16	3	—	1	2	6	—	3	1	4	8
Carnarvon	1	13	9	4	27	6	—	—	4	10	1	4	5	6	16
Anglesey	—	10	4	1	15	6	2	2	4	14	—	7	2	—	9
Wales (county not stated)	20	52	47	23	142	81	8	27	21	137	6	26	11	54	97
England (county not stated)	24	269	248	162	703	210	49	67	170	496	13	50	81	71	215
Scotland	142	822	685	400	2049	831	55	206	307	1399	84	301	228	422	1035
Islands in the British Seas	7	94	85	59	245	87	2	21	79	189	7	51	20	27	105
Ireland	85	689	1189	649	2612	1471	521	238	780	3010	92	272	196	214	774
Total born in other parts of the United Kingdom	2684	20212	22939	13333	59168	25571	1949	6507	9235	43262	2758	8787	7715	11869	31129
* Percentage of population	(48·0)	(34·2)	(32·2)	(26·2)	(31·7)	(33·3)	(24·7)	(29·6)	(37·6)	(32·9)	(47·3)	(40·8)	(38·8)	(45·5)	(42·4)
Born abroad	425	1408	1026	449	3308	1131	47	332	524	2034	91	899	369	800	2159
Total born outside London	3109	21620	23965	13782	62476	26702	1996	6839	9759	45296	2849	9686	8084	12669	33288
Percentage of population	55·6	33·6	33·7	27·1	33·5	34·8	25·3	31·1	39·7	34·5	48·9	44·9	40·7	48·6	45·4

Table I. continued.—Showing birthplaces of persons born in other parts of the United Kingdom or abroad who were living in the under-stated registration districts and sub-districts of London in 1881.

County of Birth.	Woolwich District.						Summary for London.						
	1	2	3	4	5								
	Charlton.	Woolwich Dockyard.	Woolwich Arsenal	Plumstead, West.	Plumstead, East.	Total.	West.	North.	Central.	South.	East.	Total of London.	Per cent.
Population, 1881	10930	17617	19048	14009	19241	80845	669633	719485	282238	1265927	879200	3816483	
South-Eastern Counties—													
Surrey, part of	186	215	217	141	233	992	10423	10580	3200	32746	6048	62997	1·7
Kent, part of	679	1485	1240	1083	1824	6311	13096	15857	4600	47105	14379	95037	2·5
Sussex	198	235	228	182	191	1034	9046	9629	2315	18709	4250	43949	1·2
Hampshire	269	523	510	312	303	1917	10741	11237	2827	21792	7063	53660	1·4
Berkshire	71	95	117	58	108	449	8450	8369	1812	10058	3281	31970	0·8
South Midland Counties—													
Middlesex, part of	156	158	144	101	143	702	20586	29502	8469	20965	17173	96695	2·5
Hertford	79	78	118	79	92	446	6036	12075	2307	9161	5867	35446	0·9
Buckingham	48	55	54	62	86	305	6154	8245	1431	8027	3280	27137	0·7
Oxford	54	68	70	43	59	294	5657	6409	1430	6528	2246	22270	0·6
Northampton	50	59	73	57	64	303	3368	5146	1084	4801	3061	17460	0·5
Huntingdon	30	30	19	14	33	126	1290	2451	483	2057	1057	7338	0·2
Bedford	46	60	39	36	77	258	2494	5590	1080	4125	2254	15543	0·4
Cambridge	67	107	66	62	75	377	4030	6661	1679	7353	5120	24843	0·7
Eastern Counties—													
Essex	357	529	644	381	617	2528	11622	18591	4964	28572	28108	91857	2·4
Suffolk	218	274	273	235	309	1309	9140	12842	3287	17706	9987	52962	1·4
Norfolk	156	254	248	174	305	1137	8681	12390	2978	15514	10125	49688	1·3
South-Western Counties—													
Wilts	100	138	110	85	109	542	7666	8074	1697	10571	3127	31135	0·8
Dorset	69	91	94	70	65	389	4010	4271	887	6631	2305	18104	0·5
Devon	189	347	341	242	239	1358	12023	15358	3635	19290	8299	58605	1·5
Cornwall	60	97	90	70	82	399	3220	4139	976	5408	2635	16378	0·4
Somerset	136	183	173	129	148	769	9691	12572	2764	13047	5169	43243	1·1
South Midland Counties—													
Gloucester	103	98	153	73	91	518	7549	9452	2217	10139	4631	33988	0·9
Hereford	26	23	27	13	19	108	1649	1961	411	1981	687	6689	0·2
Shropshire	29	33	36	23	29	150	1851	1945	420	1956	668	6840	0·2

Stafford	54	89	76	30	81	330	2540	3076	902	4007	2185	12710	0·3
Worcester	34	34	31	26	40	165	2047	2650	584	3046	1160	9487	0·2
Warwick	83	140	126	75	86	510	4267	6649	2508	7230	4494	25148	0·7
North Midland Counties—													
Leicester	21	44	40	34	36	175	1706	2307	485	2491	1328	8317	0·2
Rutland	3	2	5	3	2	15	435	495	100	342	133	1505	0·1
Lincoln	54	74	69	50	77	324	3444	5407	1061	5306	2390	17608	0·5
Nottingham	20	32	49	37	41	179	1637	2214	568	2433	941	7793	0·2
Derby	37	33	33	14	26	143	1208	1774	354	1991	711	6038	0·2
North-Western Counties—													
Cheshire	23	30	31	27	22	133	1337	1519	356	1997	827	6036	0·2
Lancashire	104	154	180	99	130	667	5240	6619	2001	9338	4700	27898	0·7
York	134	225	165	134	165	823	5943	8121	2270	10643	5028	32005	0·8
Northern Counties—													
Durham	31	63	43	30	40	207	1259	1518	366	2841	2035	8019	0·2
Northumberland	23	45	49	35	45	197	1276	1641	462	2296	1693	7368	0·2
Berwick-on-Tweed	5	—	6	3	5	19	78	119	17	139	—	353	—
Cumberland	18	20	5	10	9	62	723	931	264	986	418	3322	0·1
Westmoreland	3	3	2	5	1	14	226	389	73	290	121	1099	—
Monmouthshire and Wales—													
Monmouth	12	21	20	12	29	94	1051	1265	299	1303	539	4457	0·1
Glamorgan	13	20	23	9	12	77	923	1166	322	1328	631	4370	0·1
Carmarthen	4	2	4	3	3	16	336	524	159	409	169	1597	0·1
Pembroke	30	44	24	17	18	133	673	785	165	818	375	2816	0·1
Cardigan	2	3	4	1	4	14	299	736	311	554	422	2322	0·1
Brecknock	8	1	7	1	2	19	254	391	119	295	141	1200	—
Radnor	1	3	2	—	2	8	174	187	61	183	47	652	—
Montgomery	4	3	3	3	2	15	424	501	150	388	175	1638	0·1
Flint	5	4	2	1	1	13	197	194	46	221	76	734	—
Denbigh	4	2	4	2	2	14	284	370	58	292	100	1104	—
Merioneth	—	—	[illegible]	1	1	3	161	165	53	126	52	557	—
Carnarvon	5	7	5	2	3	22	163	248	48	206	108	773	—
Anglesey	4	3	—	—	—	7	112	124	31	113	56	436	—
Wales (county not stated)	11	19	31	21	17	99	1004	1422	544	1457	865	5292	0·1
England (county not stated)	20	35	122	21	43	241	3355	4138	1665	4743	4500	18401	0·5
Scotland	248	372	341	304	304	1569	10995	12583	3663	13954	7966	49161	1·3
Islands in the British Seas	41	56	59	47	20	223	1038	1243	298	1795	996	5370	0·1
Ireland	334	1116	1552	528	473	4003	16283	14706	8530	24505	16585	80609	2·1
Total born in other parts of the United Kingdom	4769	7934	8198	5310	7043	33254	249565	319523	85846	432308	212787	1300029	34·1
Percentage of population	(43·6)	(45·0)	(43·0)	(37·9)	(36·6)	(41·1)	(37·3)	(44·4)	(30·4)	(34·1)	(24·2)	(34·1)	—
Born abroad	486	727	784	419	338	2754	21234	25086	9605	22151	21426	99502	2·6
Total born outside London	5255	8661	8982	5729	7381	36008	270799	344609	95451	454459	234213	1399531	36·7
Percentage of population	48·1	49·2	47·2	40·9	38·4	44·5	40·4	47·8	33·8	35·9	26·6	36·7	—

NOTE.—An error, amounting to about one per cent., has occurred in extracting the detailed figures from the official returns. The total according to the Census of London residents born elsewhere is 1,414,528.

CHAPTER IV.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY.*

In the midst of the chaotic elements of East London, the Jewish Settlement stands out as possessing a distinct religious and social life, and a definite history of its own.

Over 200 years ago a small body of well-to-do Spanish and Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam settled in the neighbourhood of Houndsditch.† They were permitted to erect the first English synagogue immediately outside the eastern boundary of the City, and they were allotted a field in the Mile End waste wherein to bury their dead. From that time onward the Jewish Community of the East End increased in numbers and gradually changed in character.

With the slow decay of the unwritten law of social prejudice, whereby the children of Israel had been confined to one district of the metropolis, the aristocratic and cultured Sephardic Jews—direct descendants of the financiers, merchant princes, and learned doctors of Spain and Portugal—moved westward, and were replaced in their old homes by a multitude of down-trodden, poor, and bigotted brethren of the Ashkenazite, or German, branch of the Hebrew race. Thus towards the middle of last century the East End settlement ceased to be the nucleus of a small and select congregation of the chosen people, and became a reservoir for the incoming stream of poverty-stricken foreigners.

For a time the old settlers held aloof from the new-comers, and regarded them as a lower caste, fit only to receive alms.

* I am indebted to the Rev. Herman Adler (Delegate Chief Rabbi) for information concerning the religion and charitable organization of the East End Jewish Settlement.

† The Jews were banished from England in the reign of Edward I. Oliver Cromwell was induced by Manasseh ben Israel to allow a few Dutch and Portuguese Jews to settle in London; but the Jewish settlement had no legal status until the reign of Charles II.

But with the growth of an educated and comparatively wealthy class from out of the ranks of the Ashkenazite congregations, the contemptuous feelings of the Sephardim declined. In 1760, the whole of the Jewish people resident in England (numbering some 8000 souls) were organized under the secular leadership of the *London Committee of Deputies of British Jews,* a committee consisting of representatives from all the metropolitan and provincial congregations. And whilst the Jews were regarded as aliens by the English law, and while they laboured under manifold industrial and political disabilities, the Board of Deputies was fully recognized by the Imperial Government as a representative body, and possessed very real powers within its own community. The annals of this Board are interesting, for they illustrate the skill, the tenacity, and above all, the admirable temper with which our Hebrew fellow-countrymen have insinuated themselves into the life of the nation, without forsaking the faith of their forefathers or sacrificing as a community the purity of their race. As an organization the Board of Deputies is still retained, but its importance has naturally declined with the fulfilment of the main object of its existence.

Whilst the Board of Deputies has watched over the interests of its constituents as they have been affected by the Gentile world, the Beth Din (court of judgment) has administered ecclesiastical law within the Jewish community. For the origin of this venerable institution we must seek far back into primitive Hebrew history—into the annals of Biblical Judaism. In more modern times, during the wanderings of Israel among the western nations and the separation of the tribes into small communities, these courts have served a twofold purpose: they have introduced order and discipline within the several communities of the chosen people, and they have obviated the scandal of Jew fighting Jew in the Gentile courts of law.

In England at the present time the Beth Din consists of

the Chief Rabbi and two assessors; the court sits twice every week throughout the year. We say that its jurisdiction is ecclesiastical, because justice is administered by a priest, and according to the laws of the Jewish religion. But we must not fail to remember that with the followers of the Law of Moses the term ecclesiastical covers the whole ground of moral duties as well as the minutiæ of religious ceremony—includes practical obedience to the ten commandments, as well as conformity to traditional observances. In fact, religion with the orthodox Jew is not simply, or even primarily, a key whereby to unlock existence in a future world; it is a law of life on this earth, sanctioned by the rewards and punishments of this world—peace or distraction, health or disease. Hence it is impossible to define the exact jurisdiction of the Beth Din. On the one hand, the Chief Rabbi and the two assessors regulate the details of religious observance and control the machinery whereby the sanitary and dietary regulations are enforced; on the other hand, they sit as a permanent board of arbitration to all those who are, or feel themselves, aggrieved by another son, or daughter of Israel. Family quarrels, trade and labour disputes, matrimonial differences, wife desertions, even reckless engagements, and breach of promise cases—in short, all the thousand and one disputes, entanglements, defaults and mistakes of every-day life are brought before the Beth Din to be settled or unravelled by the mingled lights of the Pentateuch, the Talmud, and the native shrewdness of the Hebrew judge.

Akin to the jurisdiction of the Beth Din is the religious registration of all marriages. No Jew can enter into the married state without first obtaining the consent of the Chief Rabbi. In the case of native Jews this permission may be considered as formal; but with immigrants from distant homes, sufficient testimony is required that the parties concerned have not already contracted with other mates the bonds and ties of wedlock.

These institutions are common to the Anglo-Jewish community throughout England.* They are based on a representative system of a somewhat restricted character. Each seat-holder in a recognized synagogue takes part in the election of the Rabbi, wardens, and other officers of the congregation to which he belongs; every synagogue contributing to the communal fund has a right to vote for the Chief Rabbi, the central committee of synagogues, and indirectly for the Board of Deputies.

The Jewish settlement at the East End, however, stands outside the communal life, so far as voting power is concerned—partly on account of its extreme poverty, and partly because of the foreign habits and customs of the vast majority of East End Jews.

For the East End Jews of the working class rarely attend the larger synagogues (except on the Day of Atonement), and most assuredly they are not seat-holders. For the most part the religious-minded form themselves into associations (Chevras), which combine the functions of a benefit club for death, sickness, and the solemn rites of mourning with that of public worship and the study of the Talmud. Thirty or forty of these Chevras are scattered throughout the Jewish quarters; they are of varying size as congregations, of different degrees of solvency as friendly societies, and of doubtful comfort and sanitation as places of public worship. Usually each Chevras is named after the town or district in Russia or Poland from which the majority of its members have emigrated: it is, in fact, from old associations—from ties of relationship or friendship, or, at least, from the memory of a common home—that the new association springs.

Here, early in the morning, or late at night, the devout members meet to recite the morning and evening prayers,

* The Board of Deputies represents all British Jews; but the Sephardic and Ashkenazite communities have each a distinct religious organization and a separate Chief Rabbi.

or to decipher the sacred books of the Talmud. And it is a curious and touching sight to enter one of the poorer and more wretched of these places on a Sabbath morning. Probably the one you choose will be situated in a small alley or narrow court, or it may be built out in a back-yard. To reach the entrance you stumble over broken pavement and household debris; possibly you pick your way over the rickety bridge connecting it with the cottage property fronting the street. From the outside it appears a long wooden building surmounted by a skylight, very similar in construction to the ordinary sweater's workshop. You enter; the heat and odour convince you that the skylight is not used for ventilation. From behind the trellis of the "ladies' gallery" you see at the far end of the room the richly curtained Ark of the Covenant, wherein are laid, attired in gorgeous vestments, the sacred scrolls of the Law. Slightly elevated on a platform in the midst of the congregation, stands the reader or minister, surrounded by the seven who are called up to the reading of the Law from among the congregation. Scarves of white cashmere or silk, softly bordered and fringed, are thrown across the shoulders of the men, and relieve the dusty hue and disguise the Western cut of the clothes they wear. A low, monotonous, but musical-toned recital of Hebrew prayers, each man praying for himself to the God of his fathers, rises from the congregation, whilst the reader intones, with a somewhat louder voice, the recognized portion of the Pentateuch. Add to this rhythmical cadence of numerous voices, the swaying to and fro of the bodies of the worshippers—expressive of the words of personal adoration: "All my bones exclaim, Oh! Lord, who is like unto Thee!" —and you may imagine yourself in a far-off Eastern land. But you are roused from your dreams. Your eye wanders from the men, who form the congregation, to the small body of women who watch behind the trellis. Here, certainly, you have the Western world, in the bright-

coloured ostrich feathers, large bustles, and tight-fitting coats of cotton velvet or brocaded satinette. At last you step out, stifled by the heat and dazed by the strange contrast of the old-world memories of a majestic religion and the squalid vulgarity of an East End slum.

And, perchance, if it were permissible to stay after Divine service is over, and if you could follow the quick spoken Jüdisch, you would be still more bewildered by these "destitute foreigners," whose condition, according to Mr. Arnold White, "resembles that of animals." The women have left; the men are scattered over the benches (may-be there are several who are still muttering their prayers), or they are gathered together in knots, sharpening their intellects with the ingenious points and subtle logic of the Talmudical argument, refreshing their minds from the rich stores of Talmudical wit, or listening with ready helpfulness to the tale of distress of a new-comer from the foreign home.

These Chevras supply the social and religious needs of some 12,000 to 15,000 foreign Jews.* Up to late years their status within the Jewish community has been very similar to that of dissenting bodies in face of a State Church, always excepting nonconformity of creed. No marriages could be celebrated within their precincts, and they were in no way represented on the central council of the Ashkenazite organization of the United Synagogues. And owing to the unsanitary and overcrowded state of the poorest Chevras, some among the leaders of the Anglo-Jewish community have thought to discourage the spontaneous multiplication of these small bodies, and to erect a large East End synagogue endowed by the charity of the West. I venture to think that wiser counsels have prevailed. The evils of bad sanitation and overcrowding are easily noted, and still

* This figure includes women and children. See evidence of Mr. Joseph Blank (Secretary of the Federation of Minor Synagogues), before the Select Committee on Foreign Immigration.

more frequently exaggerated. Philanthropists are apt to forget that different degrees of sanitation and space, like all the other conditions of human existence, are good, bad, or indifferent relatively to the habits and constitutions of those who submit to them. The close and odorous atmosphere of the ordinary Chevras is clearly a matter of choice; there is not even the ghost of a "sweater" to enforce it. In truth, the family occupying one room, the presser or machinist at work day and night close to a coke fire, would find, in all probability, a palace to worship in draughty and uncomfortable, and out of all harmony and proportion with the rest of existence. On the other hand, it is easy to overlook the unseen influence for good of self-creating, self-supporting, and self-governing communities; small enough to generate public opinion and the practical supervision of private morals, and large enough to stimulate charity, worship, and study by communion and example. These and other arguments have led to the federation of minor synagogues and their partial recognition by the communal authorities. And probably it is only a question of time before the East End Chevras are admitted to full representation in the religious organization of the Ashkenazite community in return for a more responsible attitude with regard to the safety and sanitation of the premises they occupy.

The large City and East End Synagogues meet the religious wants of the middle and lower middle class of East End Jews; the Chevras connect a certain number of the more pious and independent minded of the foreign settlers with the communal life; but there remains some 20,000 to 30,000 Jews—men, women, and children—too poor or too indifferent to attend regularly a place of worship, but who nevertheless cling with an almost superstitious tenacity to the habits and customs of their race. This poorest section of the Jewish community is composed, with few exceptions, of foreigners or the children of

foreigners. Individuals are constantly rising out of it into other classes, or leaving England for America; but their places are quickly taken by new-comers from Poland and Russia. It forms, therefore, a permanent layer of poverty verging on destitution. Now this class is united to the Jewish middle and upper class by a downward stream of charity and personal service, a benevolence at once so widespread and so thorough-going, that it fully justifies the saying, "All Israel are brethren."* Of the many educational and charitable institutions connected with the East End Jewish life, I have only space to mention one—the most talked of and the least understood—the Jewish Board of Guardians.

The title of this institution has been unfortunate, for it has led to a serious misunderstanding. The Christian world has considered the "Jewish Board of Guardians" as analogous in function to an English parochial body; the relief it administers has been treated as official or State relief, and therefore by a simple process of deduction, its clients have been regarded as belonging to the ordinary pauper class. On the basis of this misleading analogy a calculation has been made of the percentage of the pauper class within the Jewish community; and the communal authorities have been charged with a wholesale pauperization of the Jewish poor.† A slight sketch of the origin

* A complete list of official Jewish Charities will be found in Dickens's London. The "Free School," the largest public school in England, is a striking example of the admirable organization peculiar to Jewish charity.

† This charge was based on the Report of the Jewish Board of Guardians for 1886; and an alarmist article on the extent of Jewish pauperism appeared in the *Spectator*, April 22nd, 1887. Besides the relief administered by the Jewish Board of Guardians, free funerals were cited as indicative of pauperism. Those who understand the peculiar solemnity of mourning and funeral rites among Jews, and who appreciate the direct and indirect costliness of these, will perceive that a "free funeral" is no more a token of pauperism than a free mass among Catholics or a free sermon among Protestants. The same may be said for the free distribution of the articles of diet needed for the celebration of religious feasts.

of the Jewish Board of Guardians and of the actual nature of its activity will, I think, suffice to destroy the ground-work of this unmerited accusation.

From the first years of the Jewish settlement in England the influx of poverty-stricken co-religionists has been one of the central problems of Anglo-Jewish life. In 1753 the Great Synagogue tried to check immigration by refusing relief to those who had left their country without due cause. But persecution and social ostracism abroad, increasing liberty and consideration in England, combined with the warm-hearted benevolence of the more fortunate children of Israel for their poorer brethren, were social forces too strong to be curbed by the negative resolution of an official body. Charities increased on all sides, but in a chaotic state, giving rise to the worst forms of pauperism and professional begging. And those who have some experience of the present system of almsgiving practised by Christians of all denominations within the metropolis, and who are able to imagine the effect of that system intensified by a steady influx of destitute foreigners, and by the very practical view the Jews take of the religious precept of charity, will readily conceive the hopelessly demoralized condition of the Jewish poor for the first fifty years of the century. To put an end to this confusing of good and evil, the three City Ashkenazite congregations instituted, in 1858, the Jewish Board of Guardians. It became the *Charity Organization Society* of the private benevolence of Hebrew philanthropists; only, from the first, it received generous and loyal support from the whole Jewish community.

Again, if we turn from the origin of the Jewish Board of Guardians to the nature of its work, we shall see that a large proportion of its charitable expenditure is not in any way analogous to the relief administered by a parochial Board. Of the £13,000 to £14,000 expended annually by the Jewish Board in actual relief, only £2000 a year is

given away in a form similar to out-door relief, viz., in fixed allowances, and in tickets for the necessaries of life; £3000 a year is lent for trade and business purposes; £1000 a year is expended in emigration; another £500 in the sanitary inspection of the homes of the poor and in the provision of a workroom for girls. Of the remainder more than 50 per cent. may be considered given in the form of business capital of one kind or another, enabling the recipients to raise themselves permanently from the ranks of those who depend on charity for subsistence. Indeed, the practical effect of the relief administered by the Jewish Board, in so far as it affects individuals, is conclusively proved by the striking fact that of the 3,313 cases dealt with in the year 1887, only 268 were known to the Board as applicants prior to the year 1886. If we remember the many thousands of cases treated during the Board's existence, we can hardly, in the face of these statistics, describe those relieved by the Jewish Board of Guardians as belonging to the chronically parasitic class of "paupers."

Hence if we mean by the word pauper, "a person supported by State provision," there are no paupers within the Jewish community, except a few isolated individuals chargeable to the English parochial authorities. If, on the other hand, we choose a wider definition—"a person so indigent as to depend on charity for maintenance"—it is impossible to measure the relative extent of pauperism among Christians and Jews of the same class. For the statistics of Jewish charitable relief are, comparatively speaking, definite and complete; but owing to the disorganized state of Christian charity, and owing to the fact that our indigent parasites are to a great extent maintained by the silent aid of the class immediately above them, we can by no possible means arrive at an approximate estimate of the number of persons in our midst who depend on charitable assistance for their livelihood. Who, for instance, would undertake to calculate the number of paupers (in this wider sense of the term)

among the population surrounding the Docks? Moreover, while all groundwork for the charge of pauperization is absent, we have conclusive evidence that either from the character of those who take, or from the method of those who give, Jewish charity does not tend to the demoralization of individual recipients.

But though the accusation of wholesale pauperism brought against the Jewish community cannot be maintained, there is doubtless, from the standpoint of industrial health, a grave objection to the form of relief administered by the Jewish Board of Guardians. Money lent or given for trade purposes fosters the artificial multiplication of small masters, and is one of the direct causes of the sweating system; efficient assistance to the mechanic out of work enables him to exist on reduced or irregular earnings, and thereby lowers the general condition of his class. In truth there seems no escape from the tragic dilemma of charitable relief. If we help a man to exist without work, we demoralize the individual and encourage the growth of a parasitic or pauper class. If, on the other hand, we raise the recipient permanently from the condition of penury, and enable him to begin again the struggle for existence, we save him at the cost of all those who compete with him (whether they be small masters or wage earners, Jews or Gentiles) for the custom of the manufacturer, the trader, or the consumer; in other words, we increase that very dislocation of industry, the result of which we attempt to mitigate in special instances. Judged by its effect on the industrial development of the whole nation, we are tempted to echo sorrowfully the words of Louise Michel, "La Philanthropie, c'est une mensonge."

Before I leave the question of charity and pauperism within the Jewish community, it is needful to notice certain institutions which indirectly have a most pauperizing effect, and which would assuredly achieve the utter demoralization of the Jewish poor if the work they accomplished equalled to

any degree the sum of their expenditure—I mean the Christian conversionist societies. Among these the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews is the largest and most influential.

This society enjoys an income of £35,000 a year. On the magnificent premises of Palestine Place (Bethnal Green) it provides a chapel, a Hebrew missionary training institute, and a Hebrew operatives' home. During the last year twelve Jews were baptized in its chapel, forty children (more than 50 per cent. of whom were the children of Christian mothers) were maintained in the school, and twelve Jewish converts supported in the operatives' home. The process of conversion is very simple: board and lodging at a specially provided house during the inquiry stage, constant charitable assistance after conversion, and the free education and free maintenance of Jewish children brought up in the Christian faith. In the eloquent words of the Report:—"The present inmates (Operative Jewish Converts' Institution) appear fully to realize the contrast between their former friendless condition and their present life, in which a comfortable home, wholesome food, respectable clothing, instruction in trade, and reward-money for attention and industry accumulates till they leave the institution." The society has, however, one complaint against its converts. Inspired by the Jewish spirit of competing with former masters, and anxious to turn to some account their newly-acquired "talent" of Christianity, the youthful proselytes set up in business on their own account, collecting and spending the subscriptions of zealous Christians, with no respect to the monetary claims or superior authority of the mother society. Hence the East End is sprinkled with small missions, between which and Palestine Place a certain number of professional converts wander in search of the temporal blessings of Christianity. Imagine the temptation to the poverty-stricken inhabitants of the crowded alleys of the Jewish slum! And yet, in spite of comfortable main-

tenance in the present and brilliant prospects in the future, the number of converts is infinitesimal, a fact that throws an interesting side-light on the moral tenacity of the Jewish race.

The movement, however, has produced a mischievous reaction within the community. Pious-minded Jews have thought starvation or baptism a too terrible alternative to offer the utterly destitute, and a certain amount of unorganized and pauperizing relief is undoubtedly dispensed throughout the East End as a counter-blast to missionary enterprise. Moreover, Jewish philanthropists have tried to protect the friendless immigrant (without hope or chance of immediate employment) from the allurements of the Christian missionary by the same means through which they have attempted to save him from the extortions of the professional "runner." They have erected a "Poor Jews' Temporary Shelter," an institution which last year provided board and lodging for a period of from one to fourteen days to 1322 homeless immigrants. Rightly or wrongly, this institution has been looked upon with disfavour by Christians, and to some extent by Jews (notably by the Jewish Board of Guardians) as likely to attract to England pauper foreigners of the Hebrew race.

I have sketched the principal religious and charitable institutions affecting for good or evil Jewish life at the East End. A far more difficult task lies before me: to give the reader some general idea of the manners and customs of this people; to represent to some slight extent their home and outdoor life, and finally to estimate, however imperfectly, their character and capacity as members of our social and industrial state.

I think I may begin with two statements of a general character: the majority of East End Jews are either foreigners or children of foreigners; and the dominant nationality is Polish or Russian.

With regard to the preponderance of foreigners, I hardly

think it will be denied by anyone who has studied the available statistics, or who has any personal experience of East End Jewish life.

For statistical material I refer the reader to Mr. Llewellyn Smith's careful and elaborate calculations in the preceding chapter. He estimates that out of a total Jewish population of from 60,000 to 70,000 persons, 30,000 were actually born abroad.

At least one-half of the remainder must be of foreign parentage.* But if the reader distrusts statistics, I would advise him to wander through the Jewish quarter, and listen to the language of the streets; to frequent the sweaters' dens, the gambling clubs, and the *chevras;* or, if he desires a more graphic experience, to attend a meeting of working-class Jews, and try to make himself understood in his native tongue.

The Polish or Russian nationality of the vast majority of these foreigners is an equally undisputed fact† and a natural consequence of the recent outbreak of Judenhetze in Russian Poland and the adjoining territories. It is, moreover, a fact of great significance in any consideration of the East End Jewish question. For we are accustomed to think, with the old German proverb, "Every country has the Jew it deserves," a saying, in our case, inapt, since we receive our Jews ready-made—passed on to us by a foreign nation with a domestic policy diametrically opposed to our own. Before, therefore, we are able to appreciate

* Mr. Smith's estimate of foreign Jews is partly based on the statistics of Jewish East End Schools. In the Jewish Free School, for instance, there are 3400 children; 897 of these are foreign-born; 1962 are of foreign extraction, while 541 only are the children of English-born parents. In other East End schools the Jewish children are only divided into two classes—foreign-born and native-born—no distinction being made between children of foreign and of native parents. Mr. Smith has therefore dealt with the first class only, and has not attempted to estimate the population of foreign parentage. A glance at the statistics of the Free School will show the numerical importance of this section of the Jewish population.

† See Reports of Jewish Board of Guardians and Poor Jews' Temporary Shelter.

the present characteristics and future prospects of this stream of Jewish life flowing continuously with more or less rapidity into the great reservoir of the East End Jewish settlement, we must gain some slight idea of the political, industrial, and social conditions governing the source from which it springs.

Alone among the great nations of Europe, Russia has resolutely refused political and industrial freedom to her Jewish subjects. Under the Russian Government oppression and restriction have assumed every conceivable form. No Jew may own land; in some places he may not even rent it; in one part he is not admitted into the learned professions; in another state he may not enter an industrial establishment or take part in a Government contract; while in whole districts of Russia the children of Israel have no right of domicile, and live and trade by the bought connivance of the police authorities, and in daily terror of the petty tyranny of a capricious governor. Deprived of the rights and privileges of citizens, they are subject to the full strain of military conscription, intensified by social insult and religious persecution. And yet, in spite of this systematic oppression, the children of Israel have, up to late years, multiplied in the land of their enemies and prospered exceedingly, until they may be numbered by their millions throughout the Russian Empire; absorbing the more profitable trading, and crowding every profession, mechanical and intellectual, open to Jewish competition. Once again in the history of the world penal legislation has proved a powerless weapon against the superior mental equipment of the Jew; and it has simply forced the untiring energies of the Hebrew race into low channels of parasitic activity, undermining the morality and well-being of their Christian fellow-subjects. The Russian Government and the Russian people have slowly grasped this fact, and unwilling to adopt the policy of complete emancipation, they have changed their method of attack. The central authorities, supported by the public opinion of the injured classes, have

deliberately encouraged mob-violence of a brutal and revolting character as a costless but efficient means of expulsion. Robbed, outraged, in fear of death and physical torture, the chosen people have swarmed across the Russian frontier, bearing with them, not borrowed "jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment,"* but a capacity for the silent evasion of the law, a faculty for secretive and illicit dealing, and mingled feelings of contempt and fear for the Christians amongst whom they have dwelt and under whose government they have lived for successive generations.

These have been the outward circumstances forming the Polish or Russian Jew. The inner life of the small Hebrew communities bound together by common suffering and mutual helpfulness has developed other qualities, but has also tended in its own way to destroy all friendly and honourable intercourse with surrounding peoples. Social isolation has perfected home life; persecution has intensified religious fervour, an existence of unremitting toil, and a rigid observance of the moral precepts and sanitary and dietary regulations of the Jewish religion have favoured the growth of sobriety, personal purity, and a consequent power of physical endurance. But living among an half-civilized people, and carefully preserved by the Government from the advantages of secular instruction, the Polish and Russian Jews have centred their thoughts and feelings in the literature of their race—in the Old Testament, with its magnificent promises of universal dominion; in the Talmud, with its minute instructions as to the means of gaining it. The child, on its mother's lap, lisps passages from the Talmud; the old man, tottering to the grave, is still searching for the secret of life in "that stupendous labyrinth of fact, thought, and fancy." For in those ten volumes of Talmudical lore the orthodox Polish Jew finds not only

* Exodus xii. 35.

a store-house of information and a training-ground for his intellectual and emotional faculties, but the key to all the varied perplexities and manifold troubles of his daily existence. To quote the words of Deutsch, the Talmud, besides comprising the poetry and the science of the people, is "emphatically a *Corpus Juris*: an encyclopædia of law, civil and penal, ecclesiastical and international, human and divine." Beyond this law the pious Israelite recognizes no obligations; the laws and customs of the Christians are so many regulations to be obeyed, evaded, set at naught, or used according to the possibilities and expediencies of the hour.

In these facts of past training we see an explanation of the present mental and physical qualities of the majority of East End Jews. The Polish or Russian Jew represents to some extent the concentrated essence of Jewish virtue and Jewish vice; for he has, in his individual experience, epitomized the history of his race in the Christian world. But he can in no sense be considered a fair sample of Jews who have enjoyed the freedom, the culture, and the public spirit of English life. I should wish it therefore to be distinctly understood that I do not offer the slight description in the following pages of the manners, customs, and industrial characteristics of East End Jews as a picture of the Jewish community throughout England.

Let us imagine ourselves on board a Hamburg boat steaming slowly up the Thames in the early hours of the morning. In the stern of the vessel we see a mixed crowd of men, women, and children—Polish and Russian Jews, some sitting on their baskets, others with bundles tied up in bright colored kerchiefs. For the most part they are men between 20 and 40 years of age, of slight and stooping stature, of sallow and pinched countenance, with low foreheads, high cheek bones and protruding lips. They wear uncouth and dirt-bespattered garments, they mutter to each other in a strange tongue. Scattered among them a few

women (their shapely figures and soft skins compare favourably with the sickly appearance of the men), in peasant frocks with shawls thrown lightly over their heads; and here and there a child, with prematurely set features, bright eyes and agile movements. Stamped on the countenance and bearing of the men is a look of stubborn patience; in their eyes an indescribable expression of hunted, suffering animals, lit up now and again by tenderness for the young wife or little child, or sharpened into a quick and furtive perception of surrounding circumstances. You address them kindly, they gaze on you with silent suspicion; a coarse German sailor pushes his way amongst them with oaths and curses; they simply move apart without a murmur, and judging from their expression, without a resentful feeling; whilst the women pick up their ragged bundles from out of the way of the intruder with an air of deprecating gentleness.

The steamer is at rest, the captain awaits the visit of the Custom House officials. All eyes are strained, searching through the shifting mist and dense forest of masts for the first glimpse of the eagerly hoped-for relations and friends, for the first sight of the long-dreamt-of city of freedom and prosperity. Presently a boat rows briskly to the side of the vessel; seated in it a young woman with mock sealskin coat, vandyke hat slashed up with blue satin, and surmounted with a yellow ostrich feather, and long six-buttoned gloves. She is chaffing the boatman in broken English, and shouts words of welcome and encouragement to the simple bewildered peasant who peers over the side of the vessel with two little ones clasped in either hand. Yes! that smartly dressed young lady is her daughter. Three years ago the father and the elder child left the quiet Polish village: a long interval of suspense, then a letter telling of an almost hopeless struggle, at last passage money, and here to-day the daughter with her bright warm clothes and cheery self-confidence—in a few hours the

comfortably furnished home of a small wholesale orange-dealer in Mitre Street, near to Petticoat Lane.

Seated by the side of the young woman a bearded man, his face furrowed and shoulders bent with work. He is comfortably clothed and wears a large watch-chain hanging ostentatiously outside his coat. Evidently he is not the father of the girl, for his hands are clenched nervously as he fails to catch sight of the long-expected form; he is simply the presser from the sweater's next door to the orange dealer; and he also can afford the 1*s* fee to board the steamer and meet his wife. Ah! there she is! and a gentle-faced woman, beaming with heightened colour, pushes her way to the side of the vessel, holding up the youngest child with triumphant pride. The elder boy, a lad of ten, fastens his eyes fixedly on his father's watch-chain, tries in vain to pierce the pocket and weigh and measure the watch, calculates quickly the probable value, wonders whether gilded articles are cheaper or dearer in London than in Poland, and registers a silent vow that he will not rest day nor night until he is handling with a possessor's pride a gold chain and watch, similar or superior to that adorning his father's person. Then he prepares with religious reverence to receive his father's blessing.

The scenes at the landing-stage are less idyllic. There are a few relations and friends awaiting the arrival of the small boats filled with immigrants: but the crowd gathered in and about the gin-shop overlooking the narrow entrance of the landing-stage are dock loungers of the lowest type and professional "runners." These latter individuals, usually of the Hebrew race, are among the most repulsive of East London parasites; boat after boat touches the landing-stage, they push forward, seize hold of the bundles or baskets of the new-comers, offer bogus tickets to those who wish to travel forward to America, promise guidance and free lodging to those who hold in their hands addresses of acquaintances in White-

chapel, or who are absolutely friendless. A little man with an official badge (*Hebrew Ladies' Protective Society*) fights valiantly in their midst for the conduct of unprotected females, and shouts or whispers to the others to go to the Poor Jews' Temporary Shelter in Leman Street. For a few moments it is a scene of indescribable confusion: cries and counter-cries; the hoarse laughter of the dock loungers at the strange garb and broken accent of the poverty-stricken foreigners; the rough swearing of the boatmen at passengers unable to pay the fee for landing. In another ten minutes eighty of the hundred new-comers are dispersed in the back slums of Whitechapel; in another few days, the majority of these, robbed of the little they possess, are turned out of the "free lodgings" destitute and friendless.

If we were able to follow the "greener" into the next scene of his adventures we should find him existing on the charity of a co-religionist or toiling day and night for a small labour-contractor in return for a shake-down, a cup of black coffee, and a hunch of brown bread. This state of dependence, however, does not last. For a time the man works as if he were a slave under the lash, silently, without complaint. But in a few months (in the busy season in a few weeks) the master enters his workshop and the man is not at his place. He has left without warning—silently—as he worked without pay. He has learnt his trade and can sell his skill in the open market at the corner of Commercial Street; or possibly a neighbouring sweater, pressed with work, has offered him better terms. A year hence he has joined a chevras, or has become an habitué of a gambling club. And unless he falls a victim to the Jewish passion for gambling, he employs the enforced leisure of the slack season in some form of petty dealing. He is soon in a fair way to become a tiny capitalist—a maker of profit as well as an earner of wage. He has moved out of the back court in which his

fellow-countrymen are herded together like animals, and is comfortably installed in a model dwelling; the walls of his parlour are decked with prints of Hebrew worthies, or with portraits of prize-fighters and race-horses; his wife wears jewellery and furs on the Sabbath; for their Sunday dinner they eat poultry. He treats his wife with courtesy and tenderness, and they discuss constantly the future of the children. He is never to be seen at the public-house round the corner; but he enjoys a quiet glass of "rum and shrub" and a game of cards with a few friends on the Saturday or Sunday evening; and he thinks seriously of season tickets for the People's Palace. He remembers the starvation fare and the long hours of his first place: he remembers, too, the name and address of the wholesale house served by his first master; and presently he appears at the counter and offers to take the work at a lower figure, or secures it through a tip to the foreman. But he no longer kisses the hand of Singer's agent and begs with fawning words for another sewing-machine; neither does he flit to other lodgings in the dead of night at the first threat of the broker. In short, he has become a law-abiding and self-respecting citizen of our great metropolis, and feels himself the equal of a Montefiore or a Rothschild.

The foregoing sketch is typical of the lives of the majority of Polish and Russian Jews from their first appearance in the port of London. Usually they bring with them no ready-made skill of a marketable character. They are set down in an already over-stocked and demoralized labour market; they are surrounded by the drunkenness, immorality, and gambling of the East-End streets; they are, in fact, placed in the midst of the very refuse of our civilization, and yet (to quote from a former chapter), whether they become bootmakers, tailors, cabinet-makers, glaziers, or dealers, the Jewish inhabitants of East London rise in the social scale; "as a mass

they shift upwards, leaving to the new-comers from foreign lands and to the small section of habitual gamblers the worst-paid work, the most dilapidated workshops, and the dirtiest lodgings." But this is not all. Originally engaged in the most unskilled branch of the lowest section of each trade, Jewish mechanics (whether we regard them individually or as a class) slowly but surely invade the higher provinces of production, bringing in their train a system of employment and a method of dealing with masters, men, and fellow-workers which arouses the antagonism of English workmen. The East End Jewish problem therefore resolves itself into two central questions:—(1) What are the reasons of the Jews' success? (2) Why is that success resented by that part of the Christian community with whom the Jew comes in daily contact? I venture to end this chapter with a few suggestions touching this double-faced enigma of Jewish life.

First we must realize (in comparing the Polish Jew with the English labourer) that the poorest Jew has inherited through the medium of his religion a trained intellect. For within the Judaic Theocracy there are no sharp lines dividing the people into distinct classes with definite economic characteristics such as exist in most Christian nations: viz. a leisure class of landowners, a capitalist class of brain-workers, and a mass of labouring people who up to late years have been considered a lower order, fit only for manual work.

The children of Israel are a nation of priests. Each male child, rich or poor, is a student of the literature of his race. In his earliest childhood he is taught by picturesque rites and ceremonies the history, the laws, and the poetry of his people; in boyhood he masters long passages in an ancient tongue; and in the more pious and rigid communities of Russian Poland the full-grown man spends his leisure in striving to interpret the subtle reasoning and strange fantasies of that great classic of the Hebrews, the Talmud

I do not wish to imply that the bigotted Jew is a "cultured" being, if we mean by culture a wide experience of the thoughts and feelings of other times and other races. Far from it. The intellectual vision and the emotional sympathies of the great majority of Polish Jews are narrowed down to the past history and present prospects of their own race. But the mechanical faculties of the intellect—memory, the power of sustained reasoning, and the capacity for elaborate calculation have been persistently cultivated (in orthodox communities) among all classes, and there has resulted a striking equality, and a high though narrow level of intellectual training.

This oneness of type and uniformity of chances, originating in the influence of a unique religion, have been strengthened and maintained by the industrial and political disabilities under which the Jews have laboured through the greater part of the Christian era, and which still exist in Russian Poland. The brutal persecution of the Middle Ages weeded out the inapt and incompetent. Injustice and social isolation, pressing on poor and rich alike, sharpened and narrowed the intellect of Israel, regarded as a whole, to an instrument for grasping by mental agility the good things withheld from them by the brute force of the Christian peoples.

In the Jewish inhabitants of East London we see therefore a race of brain-workers competing with a class of manual labourers. The Polish Jew regards manual work* as the first rung of the social ladder, to be superseded or supplanted on the first opportunity by the estimates of the profit maker, the transactions of the dealer, or the cal-

* It is a mistake to suppose that the Jew is physically unfit for manual work. On the contrary, he is better fitted than the Anglo-Saxon for those trades which require quickness of perception rather than artistic skill, and he will compete successfully with the Englishman in forms of manual labour needing physical endurance, and not actual strength of muscle. Hence the Jew's success in the machine-made coat and Boot and Shoe Trades.

culations of the money lender; and he is only tempted from a life of continual acquisition by that vice of the intellect, gambling.

Besides the possession of a trained intellect, admirably adapted to commerce and finance, there is another, and I am inclined to think a more important factor in the Jew's success. From birth upwards, the pious Israelite (male and female) is subjected to a moral and physical regimen, which, while it favours the full development of the bodily organs, protects them from abuse and disease, and stimulates the growth of physical self-control and mental endurance.* For the rites and regulations of the Mosaic law and the more detailed instructions of tradition are in no way similar to the ascetic exercises of the Christian or Buddhist saint seeking spiritual exaltation through the mortification or annihilation of physical instinct. On the contrary, the religious ordinances and sanitary laws of the Jewish religion accentuate the physical aspect of life; they are (as M. Rénan has observed) not a preparation for another world, but a course of training adapted to prolong the life of the individual and to multiply the number of his descendants.

Moreover, the moral precepts of Judaism are centred in the perfection of family life, in obedience towards parents, in self-devotion for children, in the chastity of the girl, in the support and protection of the wife. The poorest Jew cherishes as sacred the maternity of the women, and seldom degrades her to the position of a worker upon whose exertions he depends for subsistence. Thus Jewish morality, instead of diverting feeling from the service of the body, combines with physical training to develop exclusively that

* From a psychological as well as from an ethical point of view, a detailed study of the sanitary observances of the Jewish religion (more especially those relative to sexual functions) would be extremely interesting. The musical talent which distinguishes the Hebrew race has been ascribed by psychologists to the effect of these observances on successive generations.

side of man's emotional nature which is inextricably interwoven with the healthful and pleasurable exercise of physical instinct. Hence in the rigidly conforming Jew we have a being at once moral and sensual; a creature endowed with the power of physical endurance, but gifted with a highly-trained and well-regulated appetite for sensuous enjoyment. And with the emotions directed into the well-regulated channels of domestic feeling, the mind remains passionless. Anger, pride, and self-consciousness, with their counterparts of indignation, personal dignity, and sensitiveness, play a small part in the character of the Polish Jew. He suffers oppression and bears ridicule with imperturbable good humour; in the face of insult and abuse he remains silent. For why resent when your object is to overcome? Why bluster and fight when you may manipulate or control in secret?

The result is twofold. As an industrial competitor the Polish Jew is fettered by no definite standard of life; it rises and falls with his opportunities; he is not depressed by penury, and he is not demoralized by gain. As a citizen of our many-sided metropolis he is unmoved by those gusts of passion which lead to drunkenness and crime; whilst on the other hand he pursues the main purposes of personal existence, undistracted by the humours, illusions, and aspirations arising from the unsatisfied emotions of our more complicated and less disciplined natures. Is it surprising, therefore, that in this nineteenth century, with its ideal of physical health, intellectual acquisition, and material prosperity, the chosen people, with three thousand years of training, should in some instances realize the promise made by Moses to their forefathers: "Thou shalt drive out nations mightier than thyself, and thou shalt take their land as an inheritance"?

Such, I imagine, are the chief causes of the Jew's success. We need not seek far for the origin of the antagonistic feelings with which the Gentile inhabitants of

East London regard Jewish labour and Jewish trade. For the reader will have already perceived that the immigrant Jew, though possessed of many first-class virtues, is deficient in that highest and latest development of human sentiment—social morality.

I do not wish to imply by this that East End Jews resist the laws and defy the conventions of social and commercial life. On the contrary, no one will deny that the children of Israel are the most law-abiding inhabitants of East London. They keep the peace, they pay their debts, and they abide by their contracts; practices in which they are undoubtedly superior to the English and Irish casual labourers among whom they dwell. For the Jew is quick to perceive that "law and order" and the "sanctity of contract" are the *sine qua non* of a full and free competition in the open market. And it is by competition, and by competition alone, that the Jew seeks success. But in the case of the foreign Jews, it is a competition unrestricted by the personal dignity of a definite standard of life, and unchecked by the social feelings of class loyalty and trade integrity. The small manufacturer injures the trade through which he rises to the rank of a capitalist by bad and dishonest production. The petty dealer or small money lender, imbued with the economic precept of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market, suits his wares and his terms to the weakness, the ignorance, and the vice of his customers; the mechanic, indifferent to the interests of the class to which he temporarily belongs, and intent only on becoming a small master, acknowledges no limit to the process of underbidding fellow-workers, except the exhaustion of his own strength. In short, the foreign Jew totally ignores all social obligations other than keeping the law of the land, the maintenance of his own family, and the charitable relief of co-religionists.

Thus the immigrant Jew, fresh from the sorrowful experiences typical of the history of his race, seems to justify

by his existence those strange assumptions which figured for *man* in the political economy of Ricardo—an Always Enlightened Selfishness, seeking employment or profit with an absolute mobility of body and mind, without pride, without preference, without interests outside the struggle for the existence and welfare of the individual and the family. We see these assumptions verified in the Jewish inhabitants of Whitechapel; and in the Jewish East End trades we may watch the prophetic deduction of the Hebrew economist actually fulfilled—in a perpetually recurring bare subsistencc wage for the great majority of manual workers.

PART II.—LONDON CHILDREN.

CHAPTER I.

CLASSIFICATION OF SCHOOLS AND CHILDREN.

In describing the streets and various portions of London we have drawn upon many sources of information, but it must be borne in mind that the classification of the people rests in effect upon what the School Board attendance officers have told us of the homes and parents of the children in elementary schools. It has therefore seemed desirable to check the results thus obtained by looking at the same facts from the point of view of the teachers in the schools, who, though lacking some means of information open to the attendance officers as to the parents and homes, have a much more intimate knowledge of the children themselves. Moreover, from the regularity or irregularity of attendance, the condition in which the children come to school, the demands for remission of fees, and in many other ways, the teachers can, and usually do, acquire a very considerable knowledge of the parents, and a fair idea of the character of the home.

The detailed statistics of some special schools given at the end of Chapter II. will show how rich a mine of knowledge is thus opened up. In London, where the attendance organization is very complete, we can touch the whole subject either through the outdoor visitor, or through the indoor teachers, and each plan has its advantages. Whichever is chosen, the other may be used to add to or test the results obtained, and it is in this supplementary

fashion that the information gathered from the masters and mistresses of schools in London is here used.

With regard to Board schools, the method adopted has been to classify the schools in each district, to choose specimens for thorough examination, and to deal with the others in a more general way, but so as in every case to obtain an estimate of the percentage of each class of children found in each school. For the success with which this has been accomplished Miss Tabor and I have to thank the School Board for their co-operation, and the masters and mistresses, upon whose patience and spare hours we have seriously trenched. With the voluntary schools it has not been possible to be equally systematic; but a general classification of the children taught in them has been made, which is probably fairly correct, and we are grateful for the assistance we have received to this end, and for the kindness Miss Tabor received when visiting the selected schools.

In addition Mr. Llewellyn Smith and Miss Collet furnish an account of the opportunities for education above the elementary level and the relation that the one system bears to the other.

The classification adopted for the Board schools is as follows, corresponding to the class of children taught in them:—

	Grades of Elementary Schools.
I.—Accommodating the "poor" and "very poor," with a sprinkling of the lowest semi-criminal class . . .	*Lower.*
II.—Accommodating the "poor" with but slight admixture of very poor	*Middle.*
III.—Accommodating the "poor" and comfortably off together .	
IV.—Accommodating the comfortably off with but few poor . .	*Upper.*
V.—Accommodating the comfortably off and some fairly well-to-do	
VI.—Accommodating those who are fairly well-to-do only . .	

The total number of children on the books of the Board schools was, in 1890, 441,609, and these are found to be divided about as follows:—

Table I.—Classification of the Children taught in London Board Schools.

Class	Number of Schools.	A.		B.		C.		D.		E.		F and above.		Total.	
		Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.
	99	4,234	3·9	30,392	27·6	36,765	33·4	5,214	22·9	11,597	10·5	1,852	1·7	110,054	100·0
II	68	1,564	2·2	11,366	15·9	19,210	26·9	20,685	28·9	14,871	20·8	3,588	5·3	71,284	100·0
III	106	1,202	0·9	13,948	10·8	27,682	21·4	37,766	29·1	37,029	28·6	11,973	9·2	129,600	100 0
IV	59	151	0·2	3,214	5·0	7,459	11·6	10,423	16·2	29,407	45·7	13,751	21·3	64,405	100 0
V	48	106	0·2	1,734	2·9	4,307	7·2	7,404	12·3	24,154	40·0	22,486	37·4	60,191	100·0
VI	8	9	0·1	16	0·3	163	2·7	215	3·5	555	9·1	5,117	84·3	6,075	100·0
—	388	7,266	1·6	60,670	13·7	95,586	21·6	101,707	23·2	117,613	26·6	58,767	13·3	441,609	100·0

It will be observed that there is not one of these six classes of schools that does not include some samples of each of the six classes of children.

On the books of the voluntary elementary schools we find 207,942 children in 591 schools. Our information as to these covers only 59,274 children in 148 schools and is, perhaps, too slight a basis for the table given below.

Table II.—Classification of the Children taught in Voluntary Elementary Schools.

Class.	Number of Schools.	A.		B.		C and D.		E.		F and above.		Total.	
		Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.
I	33	931	8·9	5,508	52·4	3,425	32·6	569	5·4	70	0·7	10,503	100·0
II	98	428	1·4	4,327	13·7	14,283	45·3	9,959	31·6	2,523	8·0	31,520	100·0
III	178	461	0·7	5,834	8·7	22,802	33·9	27,678	41·2	10,446	15·5	67,221	100·0
IV	134	262	0·5	1,264	2·3	7,632	13·7	31,366	56·4	15,094	27·1	55,618	100·0
V	102	10	—	76	0·2	1,117	3·2	9,493	27·2	24,164	69·4	34,860	100·0
VI	46	—	—	—	—	—	—	541	6·6	7,679	93·4	8,220	100·0
—	591	2,092	1·0	17,009	8·2	49,259	23·7	79,606	38·3	59,976	28·8	207,942	100·0

Note.—The details upon which this table is based will be found in a note at the end of this chapter.

Combining the Board and voluntary schools in one general statement we obtain the following result:—

Classification of London Children in Elementary Schools.

—		Board Schools.		Voluntary Schools (Protestant).		Voluntary Schools (Catholic).		Total.	
Lowest class	A...	7,266	1·6	1,424	0·8	668	2·0	9,358	1·4
Very poor	B...	60,670	13·7	10,004	5·7	7,005	21·5	77,679	11·8
Poor	C and D...	197,293	44·8	34,334	19·6	14,925	46·0	246,552	37·4
Comfortable	E and F...	176,380	39·9	129,655	73·9	9,927	30·5	315,962	47·9
—		441,609	100·0	175,417	100·0	32,525	100·0	649,551	100·0

A rough comparison of these figures with those obtained through the School Board visitors' inquiry may be made if we bring the whole population under review. For this purpose it will be convenient to leave classes G and H out of the calculation, their children mainly attending schools above the elementary line. They have, however, about 40,000 children in elementary schools, who must be deducted from the number on the rolls classed as "F and above." Dividing the population in proportion to the children, we then get:—

Class.	Estimates from S. B. Visitors' reports.		Estimates from School Teachers' reports.	
	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.
A	37,610	0·9	53,107	1·3
B	316,834	7·5	440,833	10·5
C and D	938,293	22·3	1,399,196	33·2
E and F	2,166,503	51·5	1,566,104	37·2
	3,459,240	82·2	3,459,240	82·2
G and H	749,930	17·8		
	4,209,170	100·0		
Institutions	99,830			
	4,309,000			

We see from this comparison that the reports of the teachers make more of the poverty than do those of the attendance officers. But it must be borne in mind that there is a great difference in the degree of detail with which our information from these two sources has been collected. In East London every household, as entered in the visitors' books, was individually considered, and in other parts the information, though taken street by street, enumerated and classified the population carefully by

families. On the other hand, except as regards a limited number of specially visited schools, we contented ourselves with general statements from the school teachers as to the proportions of the various classes to be found among their scholars. I believe that in such general statements there will be a tendency to exaggeration. That is to say, that a school which roughly counted its poor as a third of the whole number, would most likely find, if every individual were counted, that the proportion would be less than a third. I am therefore not surprised to find that the subsidiary plan of inquiry, being less completely worked out, should show a higher percentage of poverty than the original method. But the difference is rather great: A from ·9 becomes 1·3; B from 7·5 becomes 10·5; C and D from 22·3 become 33·2, or in each instance about half as much again. Besides taking a more general, and therefore less exact, view of the facts, it is not improbable that the teachers in distinguishing between class and class may have drawn the lines of demarcation somewhat above the levels we have attempted to maintain. A very little change as to this would be enough to throw large numbers down from E to D and C, or from C to B. Finally there are the cases when the children do not receive a fair share, and in truth are poorer than their homes. Thus on the whole I find nothing in the second set of figures to throw doubt on the first, and much that tends to confirm their general purport. At the same time it must be admitted that our second essay does not do anything to lighten the colours in which we have had to paint the condition of London as to poverty.

[The detailed tables for voluntary schools which follow are compiled from returns which though limited in number have a wide range. The top line in each section gives the numbers for schools which sent in returns. A proportionate estimate for the other schools of each grade is given on the line below. For summary see p. 198.]

Protestant Schools.

Section.	No. of Schools.	A.		B.		C and D.		E.		F.		Total.	Per cent. of Poverty.	Per cent. of children returned.
		No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.			
Free.	6	100	7·6	656	49·6	396	30·0	151	11·4	19	1·4	1,322	87·2	26·5
	22	279	—	1,818	—	1,099	—	418	—	51	—	3,665	—	73·5
	28	379	7·6	2.474	49·6	1,495	30·0	569	11·4	70	1·4	4,987	87·2	100·0
1*d* & 2*d*	22	123	1·9	845	12·6	2,683	40·0	2,509	37·5	538	8·0	6,698	54·5	31·8
	47	273	—	1,812	—	5,752	—	5,393	—	1,150	—	14,380	—	68·2
	69	396	1·9	2,657	12·6	8,435	40·0	7,902	37·5	1,688	8·0	21,078	54·5	100·0
3*d*	29	86	0·7	810	6·9	3,568	30·5	5,443	46·4	1,816	15·5	11,723	38·1	22·0
	100	291	—	2,870	—	12,688	—	19,302	—	6,448	—	41,599	—	78·0
	129	377	0·7	3,680	6·9	16,256	30·5	24,745	46·4	8,264	15·5	53,322	38·1	100·0
4*d*	46	102	0·5	450	2·1	2,814	13·2	12,435	58·1	5,591	26·1	21,392	15·8	40·1
	78	160	—	672	—	4,225	—	18,596	—	8,354	—	32,007	—	59·9
	124	262	0·5	1,122	2·1	7,039	13·2	31,031	58·1	13,945	26·1	53,399	15·8	100·0
6*d*	21	3	—	22	0·2	328	3·2	2,799	27·2	7,128	69·4	10,280	3·4	29·6
	79	7	—	49	—	781	—	6,640	—	16,935	—	24,412	—	70·4
	100	10	—	71	0·2	1,109	3·2	9,439	27·2	24,063	69·4	34,692	3·4	100·0
9*d*	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	215	6·1	3,300	93·9	3,515	—	44·3
	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	270	—	4,154	—	4,424	—	55·7
	42	—	—	—	—	—	—	485	6·1	7,454	93·9	7,939	—	100·0
Total	133	414	—	2,783	—	9,789	—	23,552	—	18,392	—	54,930	—	31·3
	359	1,010	—	7,221	—	24,545	—	50,619	—	37,092	—	120,487	—	68·7
	492	1,424	0·8	10,004	5·7	34,334	19·6	74,171	42·2	55,484	31·7	175,417	26·1	100·0

Roman Catholic Schools.

Section.	No. of Schools.	A.		B.		C and D.		E.		F.		Total.	Per cent. of Poverty.	Per cent. of children returned.
		No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.			
Free.	5	552	10·0	3,034	55·0	1,930	35·0	—	—	—	—	5,516	100·0	—
1*d* & 2*d*	7	9	0·3	445	16·0	1,562	56·0	549	19·7	223	8·0	2,788	72·3	26·7
	22	23	—	1,225	—	4,286	—	1,508	—	612	—	7,654	—	73·3
	29	32	0·3	1,670	16·0	5,848	56·0	2,057	19·7	835	8·0	10,442	72·3	100·0
3*d*	6	8	0·6	193	15·5	586	47·1	263	21·1	195	15·7	1,245	63·2	9·0
	43	76	—	1,961	—	5,960	—	2,670	—	1,987	—	12,654	—	91·0
	49	84	0·6	2,154	15·5	6,546	47·1	2,933	21·1	2,182	15·7	13,899	63·2	100·0
4*d*	2	—	—	20	6·4	83	26·7	47	15·1	161	51·8	311	33·1	14·0
	8	—	—	122	—	510	—	288	—	988	—	1,908	—	86·0
	10	—	—	142	6·4	593	26·7	335	15·1	1,149	51·8	2,219	33·1	100·0
6*d*	2	—	—	5	3·0	8	5·0	54	32·0	101	60·0	168	8·0	—
9*d*	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	56	20·0	225	80·0	281	—	—
Total.	15	17	—	658	—	2,231	—	859	—	579	—	4,344	—	13·4
	84	651	—	6,347	—	12,694	—	4,576	—	3,913	—	28,181	—	86·6
	99	668	2·0	7,005	21·5	14,925	46·0	5,435	16·7	4,492	13·8	32,525	69·5	100·0

CHAPTER II.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

AMONG the public buildings of the Metropolis the London Board schools occupy a conspicuous place. In every quarter the eye is arrested by their distinctive architecture, as they stand, closest where the need is greatest, each one "like a tall sentinel at his post," keeping watch and ward over the interests of the generation that is to replace our own. The Board school buildings, as befits their purpose, are uniformly handsome, commodious, and for the most part substantial and well arranged. The health and convenience of both children and teachers have been carefully considered, and in the later ones especially have been increasingly secured. They accommodate a little over 443,000 children, and have been erected at a cost of about four and a half millions sterling. Taken as a whole, they may be said fairly to represent the high-water-mark of the public conscience in this country in its relation to the education of the children of the people.

The voluntary schools, which provide about one-third of the elementary school accommodation in London, are less noticeable in appearance than those of the Board, reflecting naturally the fact of their various management, and in not a few instances of that struggle for existence which testifies to the sincerity or tenacity of the convictions which form the *raison d'être* of their presence among the rest. They are, as a rule, on a much smaller scale than the Board schools, less expensive and imposing in construction, in

some cases barely reaching the present statutory requirements; in others, where funds have been more plentiful, airy, light, and cheerful. Now and then the door opens on a scene of homely comfort, foreign altogether to the austere impeccability of a Board school interior. This we find chiefly in infants' or girls' schools taught by Sisters of the Roman Church.

As regards educational efficiency, the voluntary schools press the Board schools close. The average attendance also is about the same, 78 per cent. In one respect all are rigorously alike. The work done in every school, Board and voluntary without distinction, runs in the channels defined by the Code, and all depend largely, if not mainly, for support on the Government grant.

The personal inquiry, undertaken at the editor's request, of which the results are now given, has had in view a two-fold object, viz. to ascertain:

I. The class and condition of the children attending the London elementary schools, their general characteristics, and their special needs.

II. The extent to which, under existing arrangements, these needs are being met.

With regard to children in Board schools, the admirable organization of the London School Board, together with the ready aid afforded by members and officials, placed the work of investigation on a comparatively simple footing. In proceeding to voluntary schools the task was complicated considerably by the absence of any common headship or control in their system of management. My grateful thanks are due to Cardinal Manning and to the Bishop of Bedford for cordial and valuable aid; also to managers and others who have freely given access to their schools and placed their stores of information at my disposal. But taken generally, this portion of the inquiry has been of necessity more desultory and fragmentary than the other.

The school fees under the London Board are fixed

according to the character of the population from which the schools are severally filled, and vary from 1*d* to 2*d*, 4*d*, and 6*d* per week. Two only reach 9*d*, the limit prescribed by law. In the voluntary schools, divided mainly between Church of England and Roman Catholic, the fees generally are lowest in the latter, which contain a large proportion of the poorer class of children. In the Church of England, Wesleyan, and other schools, the scale on the whole is higher, and children of the poorer class proportionately few. In poor districts the more respectable parents often send their children to a Church school for the sake of selectness, making an effort to pay the higher fee in order to avoid the indiscriminate companionship of the Board school. In the great Jewish schools, Bell Lane, and Spitalfields infants' school, attended by more than 4200 children, the fees are nominal and not enforced.

In schools under the London Board there is nothing, beyond the aspect and condition of the children who fill them, to distinguish those with different rates of fees one from another. The buildings, the staff, the educational appliances, the requirements of the Code, are the same for every class. It is the children alone who vary. Voluntary schools, to a great extent, except as regards the requirements of the Code, differ according to the fees, endowments, or other means of support, and also with the management.

Despite the smallness of the fees, especially in the Board schools, a large proportion cannot be collected. The amount of fees remitted, *i.e.* of practically free education given, in voluntary schools as a whole, we have no means of ascertaining. In those under the Board the figures are brought out with great exactness. Not less than 110,000 children had their fees remitted for the whole or for part of the year ending Lady Day, 1889; or taking the weekly remissions for 1889-90, we find about 90,000 as a constant quantity, 20 per cent. of the number on the roll, receiving

free education from the London Board, the parents professing themselves unable otherwise to provide their children with this necessary of civilized life.*

Further than this, an official return, made in 1889, gives over 40,000 children in the London Board schools, or nearly 10 per cent. of the number on the roll, as habitually attending in want of food, to which number returns from Voluntary schools add about 11,000 in the same condition.

The returns were somewhat loosely made during a period of exceptional distress, and the figures are doubtless in excess of the facts, but there is abundant evidence that the aggregate of children underfed at home is deplorably large. It will not be understood that on any given day the whole are in actual want of food, though all are irregularly or insufficiently provided for. Some come breakfastless or dinnerless perhaps once a week, others more frequently, while many hardly ever know the comfort of a wholesome and satisfying meal at home. Hackney, Finsbury, and Southwark stand highest in this respect; and in these divisions we also find the highest percentage of fees remitted, and the lowest average in the grant earned by the children. Puny, pale-faced, scantily clad and badly shod, these small and feeble folk may be found sitting limp and chill on the school benches in all the poorer parts of London. They swell the bills of mortality as want and sickness thin them off, or survive to be the needy and enfeebled adults whose burden of helplessness the next generation will have to bear.

Unhappily, in many cases, this semi-starved condition of the child is due not to poverty alone, but to drink, neglect, or vice at home. The practised eye can readily distinguish children of this class by their shrinking or furtive look, their unwholesomeness of aspect, their sickly squalor, or it may be by their indescribable pathos, the little shoulders bowed so helplessly beneath the burden of the parents' vice.

* This includes 3458 whose fees are paid by the Guardians.

"How was it you came to school without any breakfast this morning?" I asked a forlorn little lad one day. "Mother got drunk last night and couldn't get up to give me any," was the reply, given as if it were an ordinary incident in the child's daily life.

It is from homes of this class also that the majority of children come whose irregular attendance is the torment of the teacher, and the cause of so much waste of the public money. Schools containing any large proportion of children from such homes are known as "*Special Difficulty*" schools. The work in them is more laborious than in others, the teaching staff more costly, the children more sickly, dull, and ill-conditioned, the Government grant smaller and more difficult to earn. They form altogether a heavier burthen on the rates than those filled by children from decent homes. There are twenty-two of these "*Special Difficulty*" schools in London, containing in all about 21,000 children. But the residuum element exists to an almost equal extent in others not upon the list, and is to be found more or less in all the poorer schools, both Board and Voluntary. There can be no doubt that schools of this class, filled by children from the poorest and most irregular homes, can be dealt with to more purpose as a rule by the Board, with its large command of public money, than by voluntary agencies. We find, in effect, that Church and mission schools of this type are every year being closed or transferred to the Board. Among the Roman Catholic and Jewish communities, each including a large proportion of children of the poorest class, the strong effort needed for retaining the control of the schools is made, among the former more especially, for the sake of retaining with it the distinctive teaching of their respective faiths.

In describing the schools we will take them in an ascending scale, beginning with the more costly *Special Difficulty* schools, and others in which the lowest classes predomi-

nate, and ending with those in which the well-fed, well-clad children of the upper working class receive the advanced teaching of which recent memorialists complain.

The Board schools, or more properly the children who fill them, may be divided broadly into three grades—lower, middle, and upper. (See Schedule on page 196.) The lower grade schools, containing rather more than 100,000 children, include the *Special Difficulty* schools, and those in which the "very poor" children of Class B, with an admixture of those from Class A, form a third of the school or nearly so. The middle grade schools, containing about 200,000 children, are those which are filled mainly from Classes C and D, who in this book are called "the poor." The upper grade schools are those in which from two-thirds to nearly the whole of the children are drawn from Classes E and F, with an admixture from Class G, children of upper working class parents, foremen, small shopkeepers, and clerks. These schools contain about 130,000 children.*

Of the lower class, *Nichol Street* and *Castle Street*, Shoreditch; *Orange Street* and *Westcott Street*, Southwark; *Regent Street* and *Hughes Fields*, Deptford; *Tower Street*, Seven Dials; *Ponton Road*, Nine Elms; The "*Highway*" School, in the once notorious Ratcliff Highway, and *St. Clement's*, Notting Hill, may be taken as types. One or two of these we will examine in detail.

Before doing so it will be well to gather some idea of the homes from which the children come, and the conditions which surround them there.

We find our school usually on the skirts, or standing in the midst of a crowded, low, insanitary neighbourhood. The main streets, narrow at best, branch off into others narrower still; and these again into a labyrinth of blind

* This division tallies roughly with the fees charged. There are 110,000 school places at 1*d*; 180,000 at 2*d*; 100,000 at 3*d*; and 60,000 at 4*d* or over.

alleys, courts and lanes; all dirty, foul-smelling, and littered with garbage and refuse of every kind. The houses are old, damp and dilapidated. Some have been condemned as unfit for habitation. The doors are barricaded, and the broken windows boarded up. Others are being patched up and whitewashed over to pass inspection a little longer. Few families in the neighbourhood occupy more than a couple of rooms. Fully a third live in a single one, often so small and unwholesome that sickness is a constant tenant too. Here, in a space that would hardly suffice for the graves of a household, father, mother and children, sometimes a lodger too, work out the problem of domestic life.

Not that the children are much in the home. Their waking hours are divided between school and the streets. Bedtime is when the public-houses close. The hours before that are the liveliest of all the twenty-four, and they swarm about undisturbed till then. They have no regular meal times. When they are hungry the mother puts into their hands a "butty," *i.e.* a slice of bread with a scrape of dripping, lard, or the current substitute for butter, and sends them off to consume it on the doorstep or in the street. The youngest of the brood she supplies with a "sugar butty," *i.e.* a "butty" with as much sugar as will stick upon the scrape. A draught of stale tea usually goes with it. When funds are low, or where drink forestalls the children's bread, the scrape and cold tea vanish, the sugar butty is a thing of the past, the slice from the loaf becomes an intermittent supply, neighbours help out the children's needs, and free meals at school keep starvation from the door.

Public-houses are usually abundant in a neighbourhood like this. Sometimes we find as many as one to every eighty or a hundred adults, all thriving on the custom they receive. It is not always easy to specify the individual drinkers, but with so many of these houses kept going by a population on the verge of pauperism, it is clear that the

feeding of his children cannot in all cases be a first charge on the parent's earnings. Pawnshops, too, are handy of access; and in them may be often found the little jackets, boots, and petticoats, which account for the half-clad condition of the children in the schools.

These are the children's homes. The parents are compelled by poverty, or by inclination are content, to dwell in them. Their children, born and brought up under such conditions, take the colour of their surroundings, and following Nature's law, grow up to repeat the parental type.

To the casual observer, street children, especially of the poorer class, proclaim themselves chiefly by their noisiness, their rags and dirt, their tendency to swarm, their occasional pathos, their frequent fun, their general air of squalor and neglect. The first thing that strikes a stranger on entering a school is the wonderful order that everywhere prevails. There is nothing to indicate harsh control. On the contrary, children and teachers seem as a rule to be on quite amicable terms. There is even in some schools what approaches to *camaraderie* between them. But the discipline is perfect. From end to end, through the whole school, in every department it is the same. The turbulence of the streets is subdued into industrious calm. Ragged little *gamins* run quietly in harness, obedient to a look, a gesture, of the teacher in command. No matter what door we open we find the school work going smoothly and steadily along. Even the baby regiment in the lowest of the infant classes shows the same aptitude for order, and toddles through the programme with an intentness comic to behold. It is this responsiveness to rule, right rule, which more than any other thing gives ground for hope in regard to the future of these poor children. That such a miscellaneous undisciplined mass as the school population of the lowest streets in London should be brought into line, and taught, as so many are, to feel pride in their school, their teachers, even in themselves, is an achievement holding within it the

beginnings of all good. This is the true clue to follow in dealing with children of this class. Of leadership in their parents they have none, or next to none. What they need is to be encouraged and allured to "catch on" to something that will lift them out of the slough into which they were born, and give them a taste for better things. Much of the best work in London schools of the lower grade comes under this head, and is due to the personal influence of the teachers, to training, common sense, and kindness, more than to the mere teaching of the Code.

A Board school is commonly arranged in three storeys, corresponding to the three departments, boys, girls, and infants, each storey having an entrance and playground of its own. We will begin our survey with the infants.

The school career of these little people commences at a tender age. When an "infant" is three years old it may be sent to an elementary school; and mothers of the poorer class are often glad to have a child out of the way and looked after during school hours at the cost of a penny a week. At five, the law requires it to attend. At seven it ranks as a boy or girl, and is promoted accordingly to one of these departments. An infant department under the London Board usually contains from 300 to 500 children. These are distributed according to age or ability, in classes of 40 or 50, up to 60 each. Some of the classes are in separate rooms; others are two or three together in a larger one, each with a teacher to itself. The "babies," *i.e.* children under five, have a gallery of their own, with little benches comfortably fitted, rising one behind the other, so that every pair of eyes has the teacher full in view. An infant class, even in a school of the lowest grade, is a pleasant sight, always provided that there is a bright capable head teacher, who puts her heart into her work, and inspires her assistants with her own energy and cheerfulness. The busy contented little faces that we see around us tell plainly enough that school is a place to be happy and

comfortable in, more so, in many cases, than the children are or can be in their wretched homes.

In all but the very worst localities, however, the majority of the parents are fairly decent folk, working when they can, and doing their best for their children, however poor that best may be. Even as regards the poorest and most neglected homes, we find that children in the infant classes reflect the vice or poverty of the parents less than those in the upper departments. The "slum" mother, as a rule, will spend herself over the little ones, toiling for their bread, and delighting to dress and deck them out, though the elder ones may be left to shift and forage for themselves. An infant school gallery will often show us quite an array of chubby little faces which afford little or no index to the poverty or irregularity of the homes from which the children come. Still, in all poor schools we shall find many whose puny and sickly looks show too clearly that they are either feebly born, or are living under unwholesome and bad conditions at home. Usually such children come either from drinking homes, or from those where the family has over-run the means of subsistence, and the over-worn mother must herself often work for the children's bread before she has it to give to them. I have known a woman of this class present herself at the door of an infant school with a couple of slices of bread, begging that her children might be allowed to eat it at once, as she had bought it with money earned since they went breakfastless to school.

At the first glance it might seem as if not much could be done in the way of education, with a school full of such children of seven years old and under. If they are kept in order, taught the rudiments of cleanliness and good behaviour, and can learn to make pot-hooks, and read words of one syllable, the little girls to hold a needle too, all without too many tears by the way, that is as much, some would say, as can be reasonably expected.

Our London Board infant school children would laugh at a curriculum like that. They have Kinder-garten, object-lessons, Swedish-drill, and action-songs; none of them requiring tears at all, though serving admirably to develop both the little bodies and the brains as well. Also at seven years old the Code requires that they shall be ready for examination in Standard I., this being a kind of "matriculation examination," undergone by infants on entering a boys' or girls' department. It includes reading from books containing words of more than one syllable, spelling, writing, arithmetic as far as addition, subtraction, and half the multiplication table, singing by note as well as by ear, needlework for girls, and either drawing or needlework for boys. As the Government grant has depended hitherto on the children passing this examination, which is still required of them, they are of course pulled up to it, though it may be questioned whether the earning of the money does not to a great extent defeat the very purpose for which it is given. The children in the infant department of a "*Special Difficulty*" school, poorly born, poorly fed, too often neglected at home, and taught of necessity in classes of fifty to sixty each, cannot be crammed up to examination point at seven years of age without suffering somewhere. It can be done, and as a rule is done; but with a kind of educational *pâté de foie gras* as result, instead of that wholesome all-round development of the child's growing powers, which at this age should be the teacher's aim. The London School Board deserve all praise for the efforts they are making to minimize the pressure of the Code, and develop a more natural and wholesome method in their infant schools of every grade. Much is done; still more might be done, if healthy development could be recognized as the chief aim of an infant school, and the teachers encouraged and required to devote themselves to this more vital side of education, instead of to the mere mechanical process of preparation for Standard I.

The problems of neglect and poverty come more distinctly into view when we pass from the infants' to the upper departments of a school of this class. In the boys' department, which we enter first, we find the head teacher busy with a class of Standard I., dull and backward children, who require the most skilled teaching that the school possesses, to coach them up to examination point. A sorry group they are; fifteen or twenty of them; failures from the infants, or boys just "run in" by the attendance officers from the streets, who may never have been in school before. One or two are tidy-looking boys; one has a clean washed face, and a white collar on. The rest are ragged, ill-kept, and squalid in appearance. Some are filthily dirty, others sickly looking, with sore eyes and unwholesome aspect. One or two seem hopelessly dull, almost vacant. Another, a little scare-crow fellow, alert and sharp, with a pair of black eyes twinkling restlessly around as if he were meditating escape, had made his own living, we are told, in the streets before the officer ran him in.

"They need a great deal of encouragement," the teacher tells us cheerfully; "but some of them are beginning to make a start. They come cleaner than they did, for one thing; and that is a great step towards civilization." "And a most essential one too," we are ready to remark. For compassion itself cannot blind us to the fact that it is neither safe nor pleasant to come into too close quarters with these new recruits.

But this is the lowest circle in the mount of toil; and as we rise through the standards, things improve. In schools of this class the lower standards are always the worst. Still, even in them we can pick out a number, not a very large one, it is true, of tidy, tolerably healthy looking children, fairly well fed and shod, and with tokens of being cared for at home. On inquiry we find that the boots in many cases have been given free, also the clothes, and that a great amount of free feeding goes on at a Mission close

by. Few of the children come from homes that can be classed as comfortable. The great bulk of the parents are poor; many of them living on the verge of pauperism. The majority are labourers, in casual or constant work, hawkers, and petty dealers. Many are widows, or deserted wives. At best their earnings are insufficient to support a family in comfort. When work is slack the children pinch or starve, unless charity steps in to help.

Poor as they are, however, fully half of the homes are decent in their way; the parents striving people, doing what they can for their children and themselves. The rest shade down through those that are shiftless, careless, and indifferent, till the school residuum is reached, children of drunken, dissolute, or neglectful parents, amounting to about 12 per cent. of the whole. This includes a contingent from Class A, representing the lowest social type, the men loafing about, never at work yet with money always in hand for drink, the women leading doubtful or immoral lives, the children instructed to know nothing about their homes, seldom to be found in school, and growing up in their parents' ways.

After Standards III. and IV., a marked improvement is apparent. We see a freer sprinkling of "clean collar boys," less sickliness and squalor, less evidence of under-feeding or neglect at home. A London child who has passed the fourth standard is free from school at thirteen years of age.* The dull and sickly, the idle and irregular, reach

* Synopsis of requirements for Standard IV., New Code, 1890:—
Reading with fluency and expression from any book chosen by the Inspector.
Writing any passage of prose or poetry from dictation, with Spelling. More than three mistakes "fail" a child.

Arithmetic, Compound Rules with principles, Reduction, Tables of Weight, Length, Area, Capacity, &c.

Needlework for Girls, Drawing for Boys. Singing.

Recitation of eighty lines of poetry, the meanings and allusions being properly understood.

Class subjects, Grammar, Geography, Elementary Science, History. Two of these are usually taken.

the barrier and leave; their parents hurrying them off to work the moment legal release is possible. The brighter or more regular children, on whom the training of the school has told, or who come from the more respectable homes, move on into Standards V. or VI. Sometimes at ten or eleven years old they are in Standard V., and have passed the sixth before they are twelve. But they form a dwindling element. The sixth standard boys, to whom the teacher introduces us with honest pride, open-faced, intelligent-looking lads, the crown of his toil, whom he has carried through all the stages of their school career, count up to only 6 per cent. of the whole. In some schools it is not more than 2 or 3 per cent.

Under-feeding and irregular attendance, the teacher tells us, next to the stringency of the Code, are the two great difficulties with which they have to contend. Nearly a third of the children here have free tickets for the Penny Dinner Centre close by, and more are needing them. Many, but for these free meals, would starve; and to teach a starving child up to the requirements of the Code taxes not only a teacher's energies, but his conscience too. As usual, however, poverty alone is not to blame. One child after another we notice with the peculiarly squalid pallor that marks habitual under-feeding, and find that he comes from a drunken home. So with the attendance. A fixed set come well—some hardly ever miss.* Others come indifferently well. And a fixed set, from 18 to 20 per cent., come badly, and these with scarcely an exception are from the worst and most irregular homes.

Still, on the whole, the school just described, a detailed analysis of which will be found with others at the end of this chapter, is a favourable specimen of its class. The

* Children in even the poorest schools, especially with a popular head teacher, often win the medal given for not missing a single attendance through the whole school year. 9359 of these medals were given last year by the London Board.

difficulty with the children is caused more frequently by poverty and shiftlessness at home than by neglect and vice, though there is a heavy tide of these as well. We will take one now of the worst type. This is a smaller school, filled from a neighbourhood of circumscribed area and of the lowest kind. The inhabitants are chiefly hawkers and casual labourers, including a large proportion of London-born Irish. The street population, lounging in the doorways or hanging round the gin-shops at the corners of the streets, look shiftless and disreputable. Dirty, bare-footed children, who ought to be in school, are scuffling in passages and entries. Policemen stand about in couples. Lanes and alleys wind here and there with no outlet or proper thoroughfare. One-roomed families are the rule. The slum look is everywhere. It penetrates like a slimy fog into the school itself. "Slum-born" seems written on the faces of the children, hardly one of whom impresses us as well up to the average. There are a few exceptions, wholesome-looking faces, but very few. We see numbers of half-imbecile children throughout the school; big boys in low standards who cannot learn, try as they may; children of drinking parents chiefly. The head teacher, a capable, thoughtful man, tells us that nearly a fourth of the children have bad or drunken homes, dragged down sometimes by the father, sometimes by the mother, often by both. Two-thirds of them have their fees remitted. About the same number have free meals as often as the funds allow. A full fourth of the children on the rol's are seldom seen in school. They are those from the worst homes, who most need the training that they lose. These irregular children add enormously to the labour of the teacher. Sometimes a boy is running wild for weeks together. When he returns he must be coached up somehow to the level of the others. If this is not done the school is discredited, and under the late Code, for each child that failed to "pass," the Government grant was

lost. Compulsion in its ordinary form, with children of this class, is practically powerless. They, or their parents for them, present to the baffled officer who is told off to enforce it, a front sometimes of sturdy defiance, more frequently of masterly inactivity or infinite evasiveness. Their shifts are legion. To get one of these little Ishmaels "run in" to school is like fixing a drop of quicksilver with a pin. The next day he is off again, and if occasionally he returns, it is only to be the despair and torment of the teacher, who can neither class him with the rest, nor give him his undivided attention to the neglect of the more regular scholars. It must be said, however, in partial excuse, that the school-work required by the Code is neither attractive in itself to children of this class, nor does it commend itself to the parents as likely to serve a boy much in the struggle for bread which by-and-by awaits him.

In the girls' department it is the same. Everywhere we are met by tokens of penury or bad conditions in the home. Children are pointed out to us stunted in growth, anxious-eyed, with faces old beyond their years, burdened out of school with the whole charge of the wretched little home. "Never no time to play," as one of them explains. Sometimes the mother is at work all day, while the father drinks away his wages and his time. Sometimes she drinks herself, and her tasks are shuffled off upon the child. One mother is in prison. Another, with five young children, has been six weeks in the hospital. The eldest, nine years old, tells us that she "does for them" herself. The little brother of six stops at home now, to "keep house" and nurse the baby while she is at school. Even the youngest of these girls, we find, has often to wash and dress and feed the baby, to cook the father's dinner when the mother is at work, and to "clean up" the single room in which the family live. Here, as in other schools of a similar class, the teacher laments that there is so little time for the kind of training, especially in matters of the home, that these

children imperatively need. "I long," she tells us, "to have simple, practical lessons with them on things belonging to home and a woman's work, but there is no time for it. We cannot stretch the Code."

She is right. It is the child that must be fitted to the Code, not the Code to the child. It will be scarcely credited by some that up to September, 1890, when the new Code* was issued, the first thing exacted from these children of the slums, after being drilled up to examination point in the three elementaries, was proficiency in English grammar, parsing, and analysis. That they should be able to distinguish between subject and predicate in a sentence, and to state precisely the grounds for saying "He and I," instead of "Him and me," which is the use in the vernacular, was laid down by the Department as the condition on which alone anything was permitted to be taught—the three R.'s and needlework excepted—on which the Government grant was earned.

These lower grade children are quick enough in their own way, but it is not in the direction of abstract thought. In a school of a somewhat better type, but very poor, the parents chiefly costers and casual labourers, a teacher was taking grammar with a class of Standard IV. boys when I entered one day. The boys, many of them slum-born, all poor, were evidently trying to attend; but they looked dazed and beaten, their faces worried and vacant, and the low-born type supreme. The more clearly the teacher explained, the more it seemed as if their brains closed up against the abstract ideas involved. The sentence they were parsing was, "*He slipped the money in his mother's till.*" They struggled on until the last word was reached.

* Some remarks on the changes affected in the system of education by the Code of 1890 will be found in a note at the end of this chapter.

"*Till*"—what case was "*till*," and why? No answers or all astray. At last a steady-looking boy thought he had hit it, and shot forth his hand by way of announcement. "Possessive case. Because it had got the money in it!" Yet the same boys, when questioned presently on things that came home to them, penny bank-books, spending and saving, medals, prizes and punctuality, Band of Hope, earning a living, &c., showed no lack of shrewdness and common-sense. Their faces changed. The slum look fell off. Their individuality came out. All looked eager, bright, responsive, as if they had caught the scent, and were in full chase after ideas which already were half their own. A lesson in the fact that "cram" and education are not the same.

One step in advance, however, has recently been taken. In every London Board school, and in many of the voluntary schools, the older girls learn cookery, now a Code subject, thanks to the strong and persistent pressure put on the Department in this direction. A fair number of the children here have been to the cookery centre. All are fond of it. Their faces brighten the moment it is spoken of. Some of them, the tidier ones with decent mothers, are proud to tell that they have made at home the things they learned at the classes. Shepherd's pie, rock cakes, and Irish stew, seem popular attempts. All declare that their dish turned out well; with the addition, usually, that "father ate it." The beginnings of good are here. The deepest and best instinct, lying back of everything in the woman heart, the desire to "make home comfortable," is reached and brought into play. It is the carrying on, though with a sad gap between, of the Kindergarten training in the infant school. Many things are taught at these cookery centres besides cookery itself—cleanliness, neatness, precision, despatch. The observing faculties are brought into play, the latent womanliness developed. Above all, these girls get to something that they can understand and be interested in, and which works into their

scheme of life; a necessary condition, if they are to retain what they learn, or put it to use after leaving school. Training in the domestic arts is the best thing we can give to girls of this class, needful before all else if we are to raise their standard of living, or help them out of the quagmire of their slum surroundings. The practical good sense of a section of the London School Board, notably some of the women members, has shown itself nowhere more than in their determination to have the necessity for training of this kind recognized by the Department.*

The difference, generally speaking, is quite perceptible in passing from a school of the lower, to one of the middle grade. Children of Class B sink now to a small minority; 15 down to 10 per cent. Class A is barely represented. Classes E and F rise to the respectable total of 26 to 37 per cent., and tone perceptibly the aspect of the school. Standards V. and VI. begin to swell out. There are fewer fees remitted, fewer free meals given, and bad attendance steadily decreases.

The tone and aspect of a school, however, depend very much on the teacher, as well as on the class from which the children come. A lower-grade school, which has been for some time under a head teacher of the right type, will often look as brisk and trim as one in a better neighbourhood where there is less of the spirit of leadership and loyalty. A middle-grade school will show as many open intelligent faces among the boys, as much refinement and decision among the girls, as one of quite the upper grade that has been managed by a mere mechanical driver for "results." A really good head teacher, a man or woman of energy, originality, formative power, above all with the insight that comes from sympathy, is a great power, not only in a school of this class, but in the neighbourhood as well, a civilizing

* In six of the Board schools manual training for boys—woodwork chiefly—has been provided lately at the cost of the City Guilds.

Laundry work is now placed on the list of Code subjects.

agent of the highest kind. There are not a few in the lower and middle-grade schools who know the homes of nearly every child under their care, who go among the parents, win their confidence, and endeavour, often with good success, to make them feel an interest in what the school is doing. They cheer and brace the younger children. The elder ones they teach to look ahead, instilling a wholesome ambition into them, and putting before them something to strive for, the thing above all others that they require in the absence of any stimulus at home beyond the grinding need for daily bread. Want of purpose, it may be said, in passing, is a prevailing feature in homes of this class. Among the parents, thought for their children's future is practically unknown. The instinctive protective feeling, which all creatures have in common for their helpless young, seldom developes with them into that form of affection which desires the progress of their offspring, and makes effort to secure it. The contrast in this respect between English and Jewish parents of the poorest grade is very marked. Jewish children, encouraged in every way at home, often progress with astonishing rapidity, and seldom fail to reward the ambition of their parents by a substantial advance on their original condition. But there is good material also to be found in parents of the former class, and no little responsiveness in many of them, once they are convinced that a teacher is honestly doing his best for them and their children. In a capital school which I was visiting one day, a teacher of the true civilizing type told me with a smile, how a poor fellow, a coster by trade, father of two of his boys, had appeared that morning at the school-door, and after fumbling awhile in speech, not being very sure of his ground, suddenly produced a huge crab, the finest of his stock, which he had brought in token of goodwill, thrust it into the teacher's hands, and with a delicate avoidance of thanks, clattered straightway down the stairs.

Under the law of payment by results it was difficult for

teachers, or even the Board itself, to introduce anything, however important to the child, that was not encouraged by the Code. Penny banks, school libraries, Swedish drill, Bands of Hope, cricket and football clubs, &c., all of them educative in the best sense for children, especially of the middle or lower grades, could be worked only at a sacrifice from the "paying" point of view. It is to the praise of the London schools that so much in these directions has been done. The penny bank, invaluable as an aid to thrift, is now a common part of the school machinery. With a copper in hand, the child's first instinct is to "spend it," usually in sweets. The sweet-shop, in fact, is the child's public-house. It abounds in all poor neighbourhoods, and serves as an excellent training in those habits of heedless self-indulgence which are the root of half the misery of the slums. The penny bank is the best corrective to habits of this kind, and the best possible training in those opposite habits of industry, thrift, and forethought, on which the salvation of the poor depends. Under a good head teacher quite a large proportion of children in the upper standards may be found possessors of a bank-book. Many of them, both boys and girls, not only save their pennies, but earn them too. Running errands, nursing a baby, minding a shop, going round with a milkman, taking out the morning papers, &c., all bring in money. One young capitalist I met with 12*s* 6*d* of his own, laboriously earned by "knocking up" people who had to be early at work in the dark winter mornings. The savings usually go for the purchase of clothes at Christmas; boots, jackets, frocks, or comforters. In a desperately poor school in Bethnal Green, where none of the investments rose to more than two or three shillings, a quiet pale-faced little fellow informed me in a whisper that he was saving up, "*to buy a coffin when I die!*" A curious loophole into the intense feeling that exists on this point among the lower working class. In another school a boy had paid for his "country holiday" with his savings.

In another, the teacher told me that one of his best lads who had just left school, the son of a very poor widow, had apprenticed himself to a good trade with the money he had earned and been saving up for two years or more.

Swedish or musical drill, an essential part of physical education, especially for London children of the poorer class, who cannot get their proper modicum of active play, is taken more or less in every Board school. Its introduction twenty years ago was due to the womanly common sense of Mrs. Webster, one of the first members of the Board. The difference in the physique and carriage of children in schools where Swedish drill comes well to the front, and those where it has been discouraged in favour of "paying" subjects, is very noticeable. Both drill and singing, the latter a Code subject, are popular with children and staff alike, and in some schools, as their public competitions show, are exceedingly well taught. The Band of Hope, too, is generally a popular institution. Half the children in a school will be found sometimes belonging to one, and eager to announce the fact. The "*League of the Cross*," the corresponding organization among the Roman Catholics, I found in great force also in their schools, under the fostering care of Cardinal Manning. Love of drink in the adult is a terribly tough bough to lop; but one may hope that these tens of thousands of little temperance twigs will tell on the sobriety of the generation that is to follow our own.

Passing now to schools of the upper grade, Classes IV., V., and VI. in the Schedule, we are conscious of distinct advance. A more inspiriting and satisfactory sight can hardly be desired than that presented by a London elementary school, Board or voluntary, such as may be seen in every workman's suburb, or planted where the better paid trades abound. Classes B, C, and D are represented, but in proportions dwindling from 33 down to 6 per cent. in schools of Class VI. in the Schedule. The great

bulk of the children are wholesome, bright-looking, well-fed, well-clad, eager for notice, "smart," and full of life. "Smartness" is much cultivated in schools of this class, and the superiority in nervous power is often very noticeable as compared with those of the lower grades. The work done, though often mechanical, too clerkly, and narrowed under past regulations by the defects of a rigid and imperfect Code, is still in quality, scope, and teaching power, distinctly in advance of what even middle-class parents, a few years ago, could secure for their children in the ordinary private school. In some, with a head teacher of superior type, not the work alone, but the whole spirit and tone of the school are admirable. In others, even where the work as measured by "results" is good, the impression at times conveyed is that the less desirable characteristics of the lower middle-class are being grafted on those of the upper working class.

It is commonly supposed that the education given in schools of this class costs more per child to the community than that received by children in the lower-grade schools. The exact contrary is the case. In *Medburn Street* boys' school, where the teaching given is of an advanced character, and the head teacher is a B.A. of the London University, the average cost for teaching is £2. 14*s* 4*d* per head;* and of this £1. 0*s* 8*d* is paid in fees. In *Beethoven Street* school, another of the same class, the cost for teaching is £2. 2*s* per head, and the average sum paid in fees is 10*s* 2*d*. On the other hand, in *Nichol Street* school, Shoreditch, filled by the lowest class of children, the cost per head for teaching is £3. 6*s* 3*d*, of which fifteenpence per head is paid in fees. In *Hughes' Fields* school, Deptford, a similar school, the cost for teaching is £2. 19*s* per head, and the average fees paid, 1*s* 9*d*. This comparison holds good throughout the

* This does not include other items which average the same for all.

schools. Nothing, in fact, is more costly to the community, from first to last, than a slum child.

Such are the schools, and such the children taught in them. The condition of the latter may be summarized as follows :—

Among those of the lowest grade, Class B, the child's immediate needs are in arrear and arrest attention first. It is under-fed, ill-clad, badly lodged, and poorly born. Parental responsibilities, recklessly assumed, are in practice unfulfilled ; from necessity it may be, or from neglect. In either case, unless gross cruelty is involved or actual desertion proved, no statutory means exist, except as to education, for enforcing on the parents the fulfilment of their obligations, or for shielding the child in their default. The instruction given in the schools, though good in itself, is adapted mainly to children of a higher grade, and is of a kind which those of lower grade are in great measure unable to assimilate ; nor has it, except to a limited extent, any practical bearing on their after life.

In Classes C and D, the child's immediate needs as a rule are met, though not without a struggle on the parent's part ; but its future for the most part is left to chance. The teaching of the schools has but partial bearing on its after life, and little or no provision is made at home for enabling the boy or girl to become self-supporting as an adult. With the mass of parents in these classes the main idea as regards their children's school life, is that they shall "pass their standards," so as to get out to work as soon as possible. The girls go to factory work, get a small place of some kind, help the mother at home, or keep the house while she goes out to work. Many among the boys follow the father's calling, whatever it may be, and learn a trade while helping him. With a large proportion, however, the downward pull lies in the ease with which parents, driven by their own immediate needs, can get a boy on leaving school into a place where his earnings will enable him at

once to add a few shillings a week to the family exchequer, but in which he learns nothing that will help him to a maintenance in after life. At sixteen or seventeen such a lad is worth no more in the labour market than when he left school. He is too big for boy's work, and is not content with a boy's wage. He tries for a rise, and tries in vain; drifts into casual employment—hawking or some of the many forms of unskilled ill-paid work; trusts to chance for a living, marries at twenty, and is presently adding his weight to the mass of "unemployed" for whose labour no market can be found.

In Classes E and F the full round of parental responsibility is fulfilled. The child's immediate needs are met, and preparation for the future is more or less secured. As regards children of this class the education given in the schools to a certain point is excellent for all, and for a limited section is good throughout. For the majority it is too exclusively clerkly to meet their needs. It tends to foster a mistaken ambition, to the prejudice of the manual arts, and has but little bearing on that industrial life, productive or domestic, in which the majority will hereafter be engaged, and on which their progress and prosperity as a class depend. The education of the Code has been, in fact, *technical education of the wrong kind*, fitting the children for competitive examinations, clerkships, and college work, and not for the workshop, the engine-room, the factory, or the home.

The needs of the children, as our survey has brought them into view, are traceable generally to three sources.

I. Poverty.
II. Neglect.
III. Defects in the Code.

I. *Poverty*.—Of the needs arising from poverty in the home, underfeeding, due also in many cases to neglect, is the most pressing and apparent, and active efforts have recently been made to meet it by the supply of food,

either at the schools or at Feeding Centres. It may be questioned, however, whether the system of free feeding for London children, organized as it is at present, without any attempt to fix on the parent the responsibility for his child's support, will not tend eventually to nourish the evil it is designed to cure. The free meal every school-day, given to all who on the score of need put in their claim, simply reduces by so much the minimum cost, and, therefore, the minimum wage, at which family life is possible. To the shiftless and indifferent it means the removal of that natural and wholesome stimulus which the necessity of providing for the wants of a family supplies. To the idle and drinking parent it means so much set free for the publican's till. To all it means liberty to add with impunity fresh units to the helpless and unwieldy mass already hanging like a millstone round the necks of the thrifty poor. The better fulfilment of parental responsibility is the true point to aim at. We have on our Statute Book an *Education of Children Act,* requiring parents under penalty to provide their children with a certain minimum of education. What is needed further, in the interests both of the child and the community, is provision in some form, securing to the child the same certainty of food, at the charge either of the parents, or, with due restrictions, of the Guardians of the Poor, which it possesses now in regard to education.

A child of school age, habitually underfed at home, and unable in consequence to receive to purpose the instruction on which the State insists, presents one of the most difficult problems which modern civilization is called upon to solve. One thing we are bound to admit. The child must be fed; by its parents, by charity, or by the State. If by charity, full and strict inquiry should bring to light the causes of distress. If by the State, the parent should be classed as in receipt of outdoor relief. In no other way can we secure to the child a portion at least of its natural rights, without

fostering unduly the growth of a residuum class, and preparing for the coming generation a burden heavier even than our own.

II. *Neglect.*—Irregular attendance is the chief point requiring to be dealt with under this head. As underfeeding is chargeable in many cases to neglect, so irregular attendance is due sometimes to need. Children, girls especially, are often kept from school on fairly reasonable grounds—to keep house while the mother is away, to help her in the home, to fetch and carry slop work long distances to and from the shops, &c. Sometimes it is to avoid payment of the fee. But the bulk of persistent irregularity, with all its worry to the teacher, injury to the child, and waste of the public money, is chargeable to neglect. In some of the lower-grade schools the list of absentees counts up regularly to 30 per cent., or even more, of the numbers on the roll; and the worst cases, with but few exceptions, are those with drunken and idle parents. It is not the children who are in fault, the teachers and attendance officers tell us. In nine cases out of ten it is the parents; father, mother, or both; drink-sodden, lazy or neglectful people, who will not be at the trouble to rise, give the children a meal, and send them off, willing or unwilling, until past the hour when the school-doors are closed.

These children, numbering from 30,000 to 35,000 for the whole of London, are the Achilles heel, the one vulnerable point of the London School Board, which, exemplary in other directions, has hardly fulfilled even its statutory obligations here. In what are known as the *Wastrel Clauses* of the Education Act of 1876, special provision in the form of Day Industrial Schools, is made for neglected children. In these schools simple industrial training, and one or more meals a day (usually three), but not lodging, are provided, in addition to elementary instruction. The children are sent by a magistrate's order for a term of

three years. They go home at night, and special attendance officers are told off, who, if the parent still neglects to cause his child to attend, have power to enter the house and bring it to school. The parent is required to pay a sum not exceeding 2*s* a week towards the cost of the child in the school. If the parents cannot pay, the Guardians are responsible for the amount. To this the Treasury adds 2*s* per week, and the School Board makes up the remainder. At the end of six months or so, if the child has attended regularly in the meantime—and it usually has, for parents of this type dislike both the supervision involved, the regular payments, and the loss of the child's services out of school—it is let out "on license;" *i.e.* it returns to the ordinary school, and the parent's payments cease. Should need require, the license can at any time within the three years be revoked, and the child sent back, the payments and supervision recommencing.

These *Wastrel Clauses* have been adopted by all the larger School Boards, London alone excepted, throughout the country, with immense advantage to the class of children whose absence from school is due to the parent's fault rather than to their own. The comparatively small number of wilful truants, easily sifted out, require of course to be differently dealt with. The average cost of a child in these schools is about one-third of that in the ordinary full Industrial School, with the further advantage that instead of being a burden to the rates for three or four years, six months, as a rule, amends the evil, and that at the minimum of interference with the parents or the home, and without withdrawing the child altogether from ordinary free life.

III. *Defects in the Code.*—In the upper-grade schools defects arising from this source would in the main be met by the more general introduction and encouragement of manual training in some form, giving to the child the control of nerve and muscle, hand and eye, in place of that

exclusive cultivation of the brain powers and the memory, hitherto insisted on. In the new Code, now upon its trial, tentative provision in this direction has at last been made. Encouragement to the physical, the practical, and for girls, the domestic side of education, is also needed. It is on children of the lower grade, however, that the defects of the Departmental system have pressed most heavily. Practically, in London, two Codes are needed. One for the upper portion of the school population—children of the respectable working class, artisans, mechanics, foremen, small clerks and shop-keepers, postmen, policemen, regular *employés*, &c., about three-fourths of the whole. Another on simpler, more attractive and practical lines for the children of the slums, and those from the poorest homes, where no preparation for the future can be made beyond that which can be given in the schools. Thirty thousand of these children, on the lowest computation, belong distinctly to the residuum class. They form the raw material out of which to a great extent the poverty, misery, and vice of the next generation are being evolved. What they imperatively need, both for their own and the common good, is to be trained in habits of decency, cleanliness, and common self-respect, and to be taught the rudiments of civilized, social, and domestic life. The Code curriculum goes but a little way towards this. Another not less pressing need with children of either the lowest or the poorest class, who have no encouragement at home, is to have school work made attractive to them, so that they may neither hate it while it lasts, nor fling it aside the moment release from attendance comes. The Department in the past has taken little account or none of this, or of other distinctively class requirements. Things useless and distasteful to children of this type have been rigorously exacted, while the crowded Time-table found no space for those that are needed most.

Every parent of this class is bound to send his child to school. The nation, at a heavy cost, is bound to pay for its education there. The Department is equally bound to see to it that the education given is fitted to the child's condition and its needs. A detailed acquaintance with that condition, and with the needs arising out of it, is required for this. Bearing in mind that a London slum child costs the community from £28 to £35 in its school stage, and that the adult residuum, recruited largely from children of this class, is a perpetual drain on industrial resource, the importance of such knowledge, from an economic point of view, cannot be too strongly urged. Indications are not wanting that it is being increasingly acquired and put to use by the Departmental Heads, but much has yet to be done before the provisions of the Code are brought into harmony with the children's needs. The official aid of able and practical women, conversant, as only women can be, with the nature and requirements of childhood and girlhood, would probably do more to effect this than any means which have been yet devised.

[*Note to Edition of* 1892.—The inquiry of which the results are given in this chapter occupied the seven months ending April, 1890. It was concluded, therefore, before that turn in the educational tide which set in with the issue of the New Code towards the close of the same year. Various reforms of the nature indicated in the text have been commenced or carried out since then. The pernicious system of "payment by results" has been abandoned, also compulsory precedence for English Grammar as a class subject. A freer hand has been given to managers and teachers, the rigidity of the Code has been to some extent relaxed, and an attempt has been made to adapt its requirements to the differing needs and condition of the children in the schools. Further than

this, and more important still, the necessity for manual and domestic training, as a preparation for the after life of children of the working class, has been more fully recognized by the Department, and direct encouragement given to the development of right habits and character, in place of the sole inexorable "cram" which former Codes demanded. The *Education Act* of 1891 has also been passed, transferring the payment of school fees from the parent to the public.

Per contra. The London School Board as a body still lacks the courage or the conscience to deal effectually with the mass of wastrel children who haunt the slums, but whom it is practically impossible to get regularly into the ordinary schools. These children, innocent themselves, but dragged downward by parental neglect and vice, are as much the *clientèle* of the London Board as the more favoured ones for whom science classes, scholarships, and prizes, are provided elsewhere; and within statutory limits the School authorities are bound to provide as carefully for their distinctive needs. To the credit of the late Board it must be said that before going out of office it had finally decided on the establishment of two Day Industrial Schools.* This decision the present Board, on the motion of one of its new members, reversed; with the result that in London, children of the class in question, about the most helpless and dangerous in the community, still receive only the education of the streets.]

From the eighty-six schools visited and inspected for the

* The *Day Industrial*, or day-feeding school, must be carefully distinguished from the ordinary Industrial and Reformatory Schools, both of which are semi-punitive in their character, which the Day Industrial School is not. The similarity of name is unfortunate as tending to confusion in the public mind.

purpose of this inquiry, six of the lower grade were selected for more detailed analysis. Twelve departments—Boys', Girls', and Infants', containing 3461 children in all, were taken child by child, and by the aid of teachers and attendance officers the condition of each child, both in school and at home, was arrived at.

The tables which follow give the results, and have been arranged in order of poverty, thus :—

Class.	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.	No. 4.	No. 5.	No. 6.	Average.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
A	2·3	0·3	—	0·5	0·3	1·2	0·8
B	29·3	37·7	40·5	52·5	32·0	33·2	37·2
C	56·3	30·2	32·1	17·3	26·8	25·9	27·6
D	9·8	25·9	17·4	17·9	29·0	26·6	23·8
Total of poverty	97·7	94·1	90·0	88·2	88·1	86·9	89·4
E	2·3	5·4	10·0	10·9	11·4	12·4	9·9
F	—	0·5	—	0·9	0·5	0·7	0·7
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	West	Central	East	Central	East	West	
	South of the Thames.			North of the Thames.			

It is to be noted that the North Central London School, although it stands fourth on the list for volume of poverty, stands highest in degree, drawing more than half its children from Class B.

The particulars given show for each class in each school—

(1) The proportion with both father and mother, and those with one parent or guardian only.
(2) Health, and condition as to employment.
(3) The character of the father.

(4) The character of the mother.
(5) Habits of intemperance of father and mother.
(6) The regularity or irregularity of attendance.
(7) Fees remitted and meals given.
(8) The condition in which the children come to school.

The results may be compared as follows:—

(1.)—*Children having*

	Father and Mother. Per cent.	Father only. Per cent.	Mother only. Per cent.		Total No. of Children.
School No. 1 ...	84·6 ...	5·6 ...	9·8	= 100 ...	215
„ 2 ...	86·7 ...	3·8 ...	9·5	= 100 ...	580
„ 3 ...	85·3 ...	6·8 ...	7·9	= 100 ...	190
„ 4 ...	79·9 ...	4·3 ...	15·8	= 100 ...	607
„ 5 ...	88·8 ...	3·2 ...	8·0	= 100 ...	646
„ 6 ...	91·2 ...	2·3 ...	6·5	= 100 ...	1223
Average	87·4 ...	3·5 ...	9·1	= 100	...Total 3461

It will be seen that the Central London School, No. 4, with its deep poverty, has by far the largest proportion of fatherless children, and that otherwise the order of poverty coincides with the number of widows among the parents.

(2.)—*Health and Employment of the Parents.*

	Ill or delicate. Either or both. Per cent.	Father out of work. Per cent.	Wives work. Per cent.
School No. 1 ...	7·0 ...	4·2 ...	17.2
„ 2 ...	7·9 ...	3·1 ...	36·0
„ 3 ...	2·6 ...	2·6 ...	48·4
„ 4 ...	6·1 ...	4·9 ...	34·3
„ 5 ...	3·1 ...	2·2 ...	22·4
„ 6 ...	5·6 ...	2·5 ...	29·5
Average	5·5 ...	3·3 ...	30·9

Beyond the enormous proportion of those whose mothers work in No. 3 (South-East London), employment for women being abundant here, what is chiefly remarkable is the small proportion whose fathers are out of work. Again it will be seen that No. 4 (North Central) leads, and so further explains the intensity of its poverty, whilst No. 1 (South-West London) again comes second.

(3.)—*Character of the Father.*

	Good. Per cent.	Fair. Per cent.	Indifferent. Per cent.	Bad. Per cent.	
School No. 1 ...	5·2	59·8	20·6	14·4	= 100
„ 2 ...	32·9	49·7	9·5	7·9	= 100
„ 3 ...	15·4	54·3	19·4	10·9	= 100
„ 4 ...	29·0	54·8	11·1	5·1	= 100
„ 5 ...	37·8	47·7	7·1	7·4	= 100
„ 6 ...	59·0	17·1	17·6	6·3	= 100
Average	39·9	39·2	13·5	7·4	= 100

No. 4 comes out better than some of its neighbours, and altogether there is little here to support the view that the "poor in the lump are bad." They seem a little worse south than north of the Thames, but that may be an accident. It is remarkable that character all through should appear worse in proportion to the distance from Charing Cross.

(4.)—*Character of the Mother.*

	Good. Per cent.	Fair. Per cent.	Indifferent. Per cent.	Bad. Per cent.	
School No. 1 ...	15·8	55·1	15·8	13·3	= 100
„ 2 ...	41·8	37·8	14·7	5·7	= 100
„ 3 ...	22·0	39·5	11·3	27·2	= 100
„ 4 ...	28·6	53·5	12·9	5·0	= 100
„ 5 ...	40·3	40·3	11·9	7·5	= 100
„ 6 ...	61·8	16·4	16·4	5·4	= 100
Average... ...	43·8	34·5	14·3	7·4	= 100

It is to be noted that the extraordinary number of "bad" mothers in No. 3 (South-East London) coincides with the very large proportion of "working wives" shown on

Table (2). Many of these women do casual work, not for a livelihood, but to secure money for drink. The percentage of "bad" mothers is on the whole the same to a fraction as of "bad" fathers.

(5.)—*Habits of Intemperance of Father or Mother.*

	Father. Per cent.		Mother. Per cent.
School No. 1 ...	12·9	...	8·3
„ 2 ...	3·8	...	5·4
„ 3 ...	5·0	...	15·3
„ 4 ...	4·1	...	5·2
„ 5 ...	2·0	...	2·9
„ 6 ...	4·3	...	4·5
Average	4·3	...	5·3

To some extent this table repeats those which precede it. It may be supposed at least that those who "drink" will be included among the "bad" parents, and if so we may make the following further table of those whose badness as parents takes some other form.

	Father. Per cent.		Mother. Per cent.	
No. 1 ...	—	...	5·0	
2 ...	4·1	...	0·3	
3 ...	5·9	...	11·9	Some mothers, although
4 ...	1·0	(minus)	0·2	drunken, are accounted
5 ...	5·4	...	4·6	not altogether bad.
6 ...	2·0	...	0·9	
Average ...	3·1	...	2·1	

(6.)—*Regularity or Irregularity of Attendance.*

	Reg. Per cent.		Fair. Per cent.		Irreg. Per cent.		
School No. 1 ...	51·2	...	21·4	...	27·4	=	100
„ 2 ...	62·4	...	24·5	...	13·1	=	100
„ 3 ...	48·4	...	30·6	...	21·0	=	100
„ 4 ...	52·0	...	37·1	...	10·9	=	100
„ 5 ...	60·2	...	26·0	...	13·8	=	100
„ 6 ...	44·7	...	36·3	...	19·0	=	100
Average	52·5	...	31·3	...	16·2	=	100

No. 4 leads the way with its small percentage of irregular

attendances. Again the order is concurrent with the distance from the centre of London.

(7.)—*Fees remitted and Meals given.*

	Fees. Per cent.		Meals. Per cent.
School No. 1 ...	74·0	...	61·4
„ 2 ...	52·4	...	61·0
„ 3 ...	62·7	...	54·2
„ 4 ...	25·9	...	27·2
„ 5 ...	44·8	...	44·9
„ 6 ...	45·8	...	31·2
Average	46·1	...	41·6

The periods during which fees were remitted varied greatly, and similarly there were differences in regard to the distribution of food. All that can be said is that the children here counted had fees remitted and meals given during some portion of the year. The small proportion in School No. 4, with its great number of very poor children, would seem to indicate exceptionally good management.

(8.)—*Condition in which the Children come to School.*

	Cared for. Per cent.		Fair. Per cent.		Poor. Per cent.		
School No. 1 ...	42·3	...	31·2	...	26·5	=	100
„ 2 ...	20·0	...	67·3	...	12·7	=	100
„ 3 ...	54·2	...	33·2	...	12·6	=	100
„ 4 ...	41·3	...	44·2	...	14·5	=	100
„ 5 ...	53·9	...	31·1	...	15·0	=	100
„ 6 ...	54·6	...	27·0	...	18·4	=	100
Average	45·5	...	38·1	...	16·4	=	100

	Dull or delicate. Per cent.		Neglected. Per cent.
No. 1 ...	16·3	...	25·6
2 ...	24·3	...	11·2
3 ...	3·7	...	23·7
4 ...	29·2	...	12·0
5 ...	21·4	...	15·5
6 ...	20·3	...	12·5
Average ...	21·6	...	14·2

Ideas will doubtless differ as to what is meant by "cared

for," but with the exception of No. 2 it will be seen that the figures run pretty evenly. The teacher in No. 2 school has probably adopted a higher standard on this point, with the result that a number of children who would be described as "cared for" in other schools have here been classed as in "fair condition." The proportion of those in poor condition is happily small, considering that these are all schools of the lowest grade; but the number of dull or delicate children is one of the most distressing features of the tables, and, it is to be hoped, is exceptionally high in these cases.

Subjoined are the full tables for these schools. Taken as a whole their tabulated results throw no little light on the condition of the people, especially of the poorer class. The shadows come sharply out. The brighter side, happily the most extensive, makes itself apparent too. Class A is bad throughout; but rising to Class B the balance, both as regards parents and children, inclines to the good. 28 per cent. of the children come to school well cared for, against 21 per cent. who suffer from neglect. 42 per cent. attend well; 21 per cent. attend badly. So with the parents. The good and fairly decent outnumber, though but slightly, those who are indifferent, bad or drunken. The steady improvement, under almost every head, as Classes A and B are left behind, is very noticeable. Attendance, condition, payment of fees, character of parents, all are on the ascending scale. The exception would seem to be the large proportion of bad or drinking mothers in Class E. This is explained if we bear in mind that a drinking father would, as a rule, slip from Class E, to swell the percentage of Classes C or B; while the mother, in like case, would remain in the class indicated by the father's wages. We note, too, the high standard maintained by Class D, which brackets itself throughout, in matters of *morale* especially, with Class E; while Classes C and B pair, as a rule, together :—

Table of Selected Lower Grade Schools.

School.	Class.	Occupation.	PARTICULARS OF PARENTS. Father and Mother.*	Father only.*	Mother only.*	Ill or delicate (either or both).	Out of work.	Wives work.	Character of Father. Good.	Fair.	Indifferent.	Bad.	Drink.	Character of Mother. Good.	Fair.	Indifferent.	Bad.	Drink.	PARTICULARS OF CHILDREN. Attendance. Regular.	Fair.	Irregular.	Fees remitted.	Meals given.	Condition. Cared for.	Fair.	Poor.	Dull or delicate.	Neglected.	Total.	Percentage.
No. 1.—S. West. Boys' Department.	A.	Labourer, blind beggar, loafer	4	—	1	1	—	4	—	—	2	2	1	2	1	—	2	2	2	—	3	5	5	—	—	5	2	4	5	2·3
	B.	Potman, gas-stoker, painter, carman, butcher, cabman, tinker	43	2	18	11	1	18	1	14	15	15	11	12	15	19	15	7	22	12	29	61	62	14	20	29	12	34	63	29·3
	C.	Stoker, carman, waterside-labourer, lighterman, baker	111	8	2	3	8	14	4	85	20	10	13	10	81	13	9	8	68	30	23	89	64	56	43	22	19	16	121	56·3
	D.	Brewer, ragman, railway-man, porter, shopkeeper, printer	19	2	—	—	—	1	3	15	2	1	—	6	12	—	1	—	14	3	4	3	1	16	4	1	1	1	21	9·8
	E.	Shopkeeper, foreman, publican	5	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	1	—	—	2	3	—	—	—	4	1	—	1	—	5	—	—	1	—	5	2·3
		Total.....	182	12	21	15	9	37	10	116	40	28	25	32	112	32	27	17	110	46	59	159	132	91	67	57	35	55	215	100
		Percentage	84·6	5·6	9·8	7·0	4·2	17·2	5·2	59·8	20·6	14·4	12·9	15·8	55·1	15·8	13·3	8·3	51·2	21·4	27·4	74·0	61·4	42·3	31·2	26·5	16·3	25·6	100	—
No. 2.—S. Central. Boys' and Girls' Departments.	A.		2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	2	2	—	1	1	—	—	2	0·3
	B.	Labourer, hawker, char-woman, warehouseman, waiter	174	3	42	25	9	88	23	102	28	24	15	59	92	45	20	17	105	65	49	186	191	25	137	57	58	45	219	37·7
	C.	Carman, boxmaker, labourer, farrier, sweep, painter	159	8	8	19	7	82	64	85	9	9	5	76	70	17	4	6	120	42	13	85	100	39	126	10	39	11	175	30·2
	D.	Labourer, carman, servant, zincworker, packer, hatter	135	10	5	2	—	24	70	60	10	5	—	80	37	18	5	4	110	30	10	23	53	39	107	4	37	5	150	25·9
	E.	Coster, shopkeeper, engineer, publican	30	1	—	—	—	6	15	13	2	1	—	16	10	2	2	2	25	4	2	7	8	12	18	1	7	3	31	5·4
	F.	Carman, engineer	3	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	1	1	—	1	1	2	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	—	1	3	0·5
		Total.....	503	22	55	46	16	201	173	261	50	41	20	233	211	82	32	30	362	142	76	304	354	116	390	74	141	65	580	100
		Percentage.....	86·7	3·8	9·5	7·9	3·1	36·0	32·9	49·7	9·5	7·9	3·8	41·8	37·8	14·7	5·7	5·4	62·4	24·5	13·1	52·4	61·0	20·0	67·3	12·7	24·3	11·2	100	—

* In the case of orphans, the persons standing *in loco parentis* have been counted.

Table of Selected Lower Grade Schools (continued).

School.	Class.	Occupation.	PARTICULARS OF PARENTS. Father and Mother.*	Father only.*	Mother only.*	Ill or delicate (either or both).	Out of work.	Wives work.	Character of Father. Good.	Fair.	Indifferent.	Bad.	Drink.	Character of Mother. Good.	Fair.	Indifferent.	Bad.	Drink.	PARTICULARS OF CHILDREN. Attendance. Regular.	Fair.	Irregular.	Fees remitted.	Meals given.	Condition. Cared for.	Fair.	Poor.	Dull or delicate.	Neglected.	Total.	Percentage.
No. 3.—S. East. Girls' Department.	B.	Labourer, drover, hawker, woodchopper, sailor, bootmaker	59	4	14	2	5	47	6	32	15	10	3	10	34	8	21	8	34	29	14	70	67	40	25	12	1	19	77	40·5
	C.	Waterman, labourer, drover, barber, hawker, sweep	56	5	—	1	—	24	6	32	17	6	4	13	16	9	18	10	23	21	17	39	31	26	26	9	3	18	61	32·1
	D.	Labourer, bootmaker, dealer, sailor, engineer, barber	30	2	1	—	—	14	6	21	2	3	2	8	16	3	4	4	23	5	5	7	4	24	6	3	1	5	33	17·4
	E.	Bricklayer, engineer, labourer, caretaker, publican	17	2	—	2	—	7	9	10	—	—	—	8	4	—	5	5	12	3	4	3	1	13	6	—	2	3	19	10·0
		Total.....	162	13	15	5	5	92	27	95	34	19	9	39	70	20	48	27	92	58	40	119	103	103	63	24	7	45	190	100
		Percentage	85·3	6·8	7·9	2·6	2·6	48·4	15·4	54·3	19·4	10·9	5·0	22·0	39·5	11·3	27·2	15·3	48·4	30·6	21·0	62·7	54·2	54·2	33·2	12·6	3·7	23·7	100	—
No. 4.—N. Central. All Departments.	A.	Picture-frame maker	3	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	3	1	—	1	1	1	1	—	—	3	1	1	—	—	3	—	3	3	0·5
	B.	Seamstress, tailor, porter, bootmaker, tinplate-worker, painter	217	12	90	32	25	138	31	146	33	19	14	51	193	45	18	19	142	129	48	126	141	95	160	64	110	46	319	52·5
	C.	Labourer, hatter, chairmender, sailor, carman, printer	91	11	3	4	4	36	15	69	16	2	4	16	55	18	5	6	43	52	10	25	22	31	56	18	31	20	105	17·3
	D.	Bricklayer, porter, tailor, greengrocer, painter, printer	104	2	3	—	1	26	47	52	6	1	1	47	49	9	2	1	75	31	3	4	1	72	37	—	22	1	109	17·9
	E.	Foreman, warehouseman, bookbinder, porter, fishmonger	65	1	—	1	—	6	50	13	2	1	1	47	13	2	3	3	51	13	2	1	—	49	14	3	13	3	66	10 9
	F.	Foreman, printer	5	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	4	1	—	1	—	5	0·9
		Total	485	26	96	37	30	208	148	280	57	26	21	166	311	75	29	30	316	225	66	157	165	251	268	88	177	73	607	100
		Percentage	79·9	4·3	15·8	6·1	4·9	34·3	29·0	54·8	11·1	5·1	4·1	28·6	53·5	12·9	5·0	5·2	52·0	37·1	10·9	25·9	27·2	41·3	44·2	14·5	29·2	12·0	100	—

* In the case of orphans, the persons standing *in loco parentis* have been counted.

Table of Selected Lower Grade Schools (continued).

School.	Class.	Occupation.	PARTICULARS OF PARENTS. Father and Mother.*	Father only.*	Mother only.*	Ill or delicate (either or both).	Out of work.	Wives work.	Character of Father. Good.	Fair.	Indifferent.	Bad.	Drink.	Character of Mother. Good.	Fair.	Indifferent.	Bad.	Drink.	PARTICULARS OF CHILDREN. Attendance. Regular.	Fair.	Irregular.	Fees remitted.	Meals given.	Condition. Cared for.	Fair.	Poor.	Dull or delicate.	Neglected.	Total.	Percentage.
No. 5.—N. East. Boys' & Girls' Departments.	A.	Labourer	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2	—	1	1	—	2	—	1	2	2	0·3
	B.	Labourer, catsmeat-man, seaman, coster, boiler-maker	144	11	50	14	6	68	19	92	14	30	7	53	86	23	32	11	104	66	35	176	166	71	82	52	35	50	205	32·0
	C.	Labourer, scripture reader, painter, stevedore, hawker	175	3	—	5	7	44	39	110	21	8	2	42	91	30	12	6	83	60	35	99	104	65	82	31	45	32	178	26·8
	D.	Labourer, sawyer, sailor, cigarmaker, lighterman, clerk	180	5	1	—	—	25	112	64	5	4	3	110	56	14	1	1	144	29	13	9	15	154	25	7	40	9	186	29·0
	E.	Engineer, lighterman, salter, carman, tailor, clerk, labourer	69	2	—	1	—	3	53	16	2	—	—	45	17	7	—	—	54	11	6	4	4	54	10	7	17	7	71	11·4
	F.	Lighterman, publican, baker	4	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	4	0·5
		Total.....	574	21	51	20	13	140	225	284	42	44	12	252	252	74	47	18	389	168	89	289	290	348	201	97	138	100	646	100
		Percentage	88·8	3·2	8·0	3·1	2·2	22·4	37·8	47·7	7·1	7·4	2·0	40·3	40·3	11·9	7·5	2·9	60·2	26·0	13·8	44·8	44·9	53·9	31·1	15·0	21·4	15·5	100	—
No. 6.—N. West. All Departments.	A.	Coalheaver, labourer, organ-grinder	15	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	1	14	4	1	—	2	12	2	—	4	11	9	6	1	3	11	2	10	15	1·2
	B.	Hawker, organ-grinder, ragsorter, plasterer, plumber, baker	338	12	50	46	24	126	122	81	112	35	25	174	82	109	23	21	143	164	99	322	257	124	152	130	96	89	406	33·2
	C.	Labourer, painter, scavenger, bricklayer, stonemason, sailor	301	7	13	11	5	131	156	69	70	13	17	166	68	65	15	19	123	118	76	171	98	143	118	56	60	36	317	25·9
	D.	Labourer, greengrocer, carpenter, fireman, zinc-worker, postman	304	7	15	6	1	71	257	35	14	5	1	259	35	15	10	10	175	111	39	56	29	258	44	23	67	14	325	26·6
	E.	Painter, labourer, cab-driver, saddler, bootmaker, gardener	148	2	2	5	—	24	130	11	4	5	2	129	11	5	5	2	103	42	6	10	4	133	13	5	21	4	151	12·4
	F.	Saddler, shopkeeper, laundry	9	—	—	1	—	—	9	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	—	3	5	1	—	—	9	—	—	2	—	9	0·7
		Total.....	1115	28	80	69	30	355	674	196	201	72	49	738	196	196	65	54	547	444	232	568	394	668	330	225	248	153	1223	100
		Percentage.....	91·2	2·3	6·5	5·6	2·5	29·5	59·0	17·1	17·6	6·3	4·3	61·8	16·4	16·4	5·4	4·5	44·7	36·3	19·0	46·4	32·2	54·6	27·0	18·4	20·3	12·5	100	—

* In the case of orphans, the persons standing *in loco parentis* have been counted.

Summary of Selected Lower Grade Schools.

Class.	Occupation.	PARTICULARS OF PARENTS.																		PARTICULARS OF CHILDREN.										
								Character of Father.					Character of Mother.					Attendance					Condition.							
		Father and Mother.	Father only.	Mother only.	Ill or delicate (either or both).	Out of work.	Wives work.	Good.	Fair.	Indifferent.	Bad.	Drink.	Good.	Fair.	Indifferent.	Bad.	Drink.	Regular.	Fair.	Irregular.	Fees remitted.	Meals given.	Cared for.	Fair.	Poor.	Dull or delicate.	Neglected.	Total.	Per cent.
A.	Coalheaver, labourer, organ grinder, picture frame maker, drover, hawker, &c.	26	—	1	1	—	10	—	—	3	23	6	4	3	3	17	5	2	7	18	18	18	1	6	20	5	19	27	0·8
B.	Hawker, organ grinder, rag-sorter, plasterer, plumber, baker, seamstress, &c.	975	44	264	130	70	485	202	467	217	133	75	359	502	249	129	83	550	465	274	941	884	369	576	344	312	283	1289	37·2
	Per cent.	76·0	3·4	20·6	10·1	6·8	39·1	19·8	45·8	21·3	13·1	7·3	29·0	40·5	20·1	10·4	6·7	42·6	36·1	21·3	73·0	68·6	28·6	44·7	26·7	24·2	22·0	—	—
C.	Labourer, painter, scavenger, bricklayer, stonemason, sailor, hatter, carman, &c.	893	42	26	43	31	331	284	450	153	48	45	323	381	152	63	55	460	323	174	508	419	360	451	146	197	133	957	27·6
	Per cent.	92·9	4·4	2·7	4·5	3·3	36·0	30·2	48·2	16·4	5·2	4·8	35·2	41·5	16·5	6·8	5·9	48·1	33·7	18·2	53·1	43·8	37·6	47·1	15·3	20·6	14·0	—	—
D.	Labourer, greengrocer, carpenter, fireman, zinc-worker, postman, porter, bricklayer, &c.	772	28	25	8	2	161	495	247	39	19	7	510	205	59	23	20	541	209	74	102	103	563	223	38	168	35	824	23·8
	Per cent.	93·6	3·4	3·0	0·9	0·3	20·2	62·0	30·8	4·9	2·3	0·8	64·0	25·8	7·4	2·8	2·5	65·6	25·4	9·0	12·4	12·5	68·3	27·1	4·6	20·4	4·2	—	—
E.	Painter, labourer, cab-driver, saddler, bootmaker, gardener, foreman, porter, &c.	334	8	2	9	—	46	259	65	11	7	3	247	58	16	15	12	249	74	20	26	17	266	61	16	61	20	343	9·9
	Per cent.	97·1	2·3	0·6	2·7	—	13·7	75·8	19·0	3·2	2·0	0·9	73·5	17·1	5·0	4·4	3·6	72·6	21·6	5·8	7·6	5·0	77·5	17·7	4·8	17·7	5·8	—	—
F.	Saddler, shopkeeper, laundry, foreman, printer, carman, engineer, baker, &c.	21	—	—	1	—	—	17	—	1	—	—	17	3	—	1	1	14	5	2	1	—	18	2	1	3	1	21	0·7
	Total	3021	122	318	192	103	1033	1257	1232	424	230	136	1460	1152	479	248	176	1816	1083	562	1596	1441	1577	1319	565	746	491	3461	100
	Percentage	87·4	3·5	9·1	5·5	3·3	30·9	39·9	39·2	13·5	7·4	4·3	43·8	34·5	14·3	7·4	5·3	52·5	31·3	16·2	46·1	41·6	45·5	38·1	16·4	21·6	14·2	—	—

The extracts which follow, one for each of the six schools, are taken as they occur on the roll, each series just as it was set down, and will show the exact nature of the information on which the tables given above are based :—

Class.		Occupation.		Character.		Remarks on Parents.	Attend-ance.	Remitted Fees.	Meals.	Condition of Child.	Remarks on Child.
		Father.	Mother.	Father.	Mother.						
1	C	Gasman	—	Unsatisfactory	Decent and thrifty	Man earns 14s a week, abuses wife	Good	—	—	Fair	Medal, quick, good
	D	Printer	—	Decent	—	Man come down	Bad	—	—	Fair	—
	B	Labourer	—	Bad	Bad	Everything bad, 10 children	Fair	Remitted	Given	Dirty	Good boy, weakly
	E	Shop	—	Good	Good	Good circumstances	Good	—	—	Clean	Clean, cared for, quick, nice boy
	B	Gas	—	Fair	Lazy	Large family	Bad	Remitted	Given	Fair	Kept from school to work
	B	Loafer	Washes	Bad	Dirty and shiftless	Lazy people, make the children beg	Bad	Remitted	Given	Bad	Kept from school to work
	B	Labourer	—	Idle	Doubtful, idle	Poverty, bad home	Bad	Remitted	Given	Poor	Delicate, neglected, dull
	D	Painter	—	Drinks, idle	Beaten down	Wife toiled and lost heart	Bad	Remitted	Given	Poor	No chance, weakly, dull, bad boy
2	C	Labourer	Chars	Good	Good	Striving people	Good	—	—	Clean	Cared for
	B	Labourer	—	Bad	Lazy	Both drink	Bad	—	—	Dirty	Neglected, no chance
	D	Labourer	—	Good	Good	Mother ill	Good	—	—	Clean	Cared for, delicate, bad eyes
	B	Painter	—	Bad	Bad	Both drink	Bad	Remitted	Given	Dirty	Neglected, no chance
	D	Mat maker	Chars	Fair	Good	Mother tries	Good	—	—	Clean	Delicate
	B	Dead	Dust sorter	—	Doubtful	Wretched home	Bad	Remitted	Given	Poor	Neglected, delicate
	B	Labourer	—	Fair	Shiftless	Miserable family, all sickly	Bad	Remitted	Given	Dirty	Neglected
	D	Carman	—	Indifferent	Fair	—	Good	—	—	Clean	Cared for
3	B	Labourer	Chars	Bad	Hard working	Man drinks, pulls home down, mother deserted it and returned	Good	Remitted	Given	Poor	Eldest son in prison 7 years
	D	Sailor	Chars	Decent	Industrious	Good home, 12 children	Good	—	—	Clean	Cared for
	B	Out of work	Chars	Decent	Struggles	Poor, clean	Good	Remitted	—	Clean	Cared for
	C	Loafs	Chars	Indifferent	Violent	Poor home	Fair	Remitted	Given	Clean	—
	C	Labourer	Chars	Indifferent	Doubtful	Been summoned, pays fine and keeps child at work	Bad	Remitted	—	Clean	Careless parents
	B	Out of work	Chars	Incapable	Struggles	Come down, out of heart	Bad	Remitted	Given	Untidy	No clothes, stays in bed without them
	B	Labourer	—	Shiftless	Shiftless	Miserable home	Bad	Remitted	Given	Untidy	Neglected
	E	Shop	Helps	Decent	Strives	Good home	Fair	—	—	Fair	Cared for

Class.		Occupation.		Character.		Remarks on Parents.	Attend-ance.	Remitted Fees.	Meals.	Condition of Child.	Remarks on Child.
		Father.	Mother.	Father.	Mother.						
4	E	Factory	—	Good	Good	—	Good	—	—	Kept well	Cared for, clean
	B	Painter	—	Fair	Fair	Shiftless, delicate	Fair	Remitted	—	Fair	Neglected
	B	Dead	Chars	—	Decent	Struggles, in vain	Poor	Remitted	—	Fair	Delicate, truants
	C	Shoemaker	—	Fair	Fair	Shiftless people	Good	—	—	Fair	Stunted growth, home neglect
	B	Porter	Chars	Bad	Bad	Both drink, no control over child	Bad	Remitted	—	Poor	Neglected and disobedient
	B	Dead	Chars	—	Decent	Struggles on	Good	—	Given	Clean	Cared for, delicate
	B	Labourer	—	Good	Good	Striving people	Good	—	—	Clean	Writes with both hands
	C	Porter	Helps at a market	Good	Good	Striving	Good	—	—	Clean	Medal
5	D	Dead	Dead	—	—	Aunt maintains child, strives hard	Good	—	—	Clean	Child gave Jubilee shilling for poor children's dinners
	B	Labourer	Chars	Good	Good	Struggle	Good	Remitted	Given	Clean	Child gained medal
	B	Labourer	Dead	Doubtful	—	Bad home	Fair	Remitted	Given	Dirty	Neglected
	B	Dead	Mangle	—	Good	Striving clever woman, north country	Good	—	—	Clean	Good home
	C	Labourer	—	Good	Good	Struggle	Good	Remitted	Given	Clean	Delicate
	C	Labourer	Chars	Good	Fair	Bad-tempered woman	Good	Remitted	Given	Clean	—
	D	Artisan	—	Good	Dirty	Shiftless drinking mother	Good	—	—	Fair	Neglected
	B	Deserted wife	Sews	Bad	Good	Mother strives	Good	Remitted	Given	Clean	Cared for
	C	Labourer	Washes	Good	Good	Mother striving and good	Good	—	—	Clean	Well cared for, bright child
	B	Coal porter	—	Decent	Fair	Large family, shiftless mother, very poor	Fair	Remitted	Given	Dirty	Delicate
	D	Labourer	Chars	Good	Good	Striving people	Good	—	—	Clean	Cared for
	B	Loafer	Ironer	Indifferent	Good	Mother tries, children do well	Good	Remitted	Given	Clean	Large family, one child lame through poor nursing
	C	Ostler	Washes	Indifferent	Industrious	Man shiftless and lazy, mother hard worker	Fair	—	Given	Clean	Large family, mother does her best
	D	—	Shop	Good	Good	Mother strives	Good	—	—	Clean	Cared for
	D	Bricklayer	—	Indifferent	Drinks	Bad mother, dirty home	Bad	—	—	Dirty	Neglected
	C	Labourer	Chars	Good	Good	Striving people	Good	—	—	Clean	Cared for

CHAPTER III

SECONDARY EDUCATION.*

(1.) Boys.

Under the existing conditions of industry, the vast majority of children leave school at the age of twelve or thirteen. The highly organized system of primary schools which provide for the wants of those who finish their school education at this early age has been described in a preceding chapter. The present chapter deals exclusively with schools and institutions which carry on the education of a small minority of children beyond the age of thirteen. They may be roughly divided under two heads—evening classes designed to afford an opportunity to those who have already left school to continue their education, and day schools with a curriculum adapted to pupils who will finish their education at an age varying from fourteen to eighteen, and often connected with primary schools by scholarships and exhibitions. All this system of higher day and evening schools is included under the head of "secondary" education.

Legally it is true that the greater number of evening classes in London are "elementary schools," being conducted by the London School Board. But under the new Code this term is fast becoming a legal fiction, and under the operation of recent Acts of Parliament which authorize

* The inquiry on which Chapter III. is based was originally undertaken for the National Association for the Promotion of Technical and Secondary Education, by whose kind permission the results are here published.

the establishment of what are practically "secondary" departments in elementary schools the time seems to be drawing near when the term "elementary school" will have little reference to the character of the instruction or the age of the scholars, but will merely mean a publicly supervised school open to Her Majesty's Inspector and conforming to the requirements of the Education Acts.* In other words the action of School Boards with regard to education has burst the bounds of elementary instruction, and any complete account of the organization of secondary education ought now to include the continuation classes subsidized by the Education Department.

The present chapter, however, will be chiefly confined to the more important class of day schools designed for boys who can stay at school until an age varying from fourteen to eighteen. There is as yet nothing which can be called an organized system of such schools in London, but a considerable number of endowed schools are scattered irregularly over the Metropolitan area, and the gaps partly filled by "proprietary" schools managed by Joint Stock Companies, partly by private adventure schools.

It will thus be seen that the distinction between secondary and primary schools is in the first instance educational rather than social. To quote the words of an official report on London secondary schools twenty-two years ago, "the definition of the middle-class child for the purpose of this inquiry disregards in the main the occupation or social position of his parents or next friends, and considers simply up to what age he is intended to be educated."

Of course under existing conditions this distinction carries with it to a great extent a class distinction, so that we may say roughly that *at present* secondary schools mean schools in which the children of clerks, tradesmen, managers, manufacturers, and professional men receive

* This is especially the case as regards evening schools.

their education. But this is not a fundamental definition, being merely an accident of the existing distribution of wealth, which may cease to hold good when secondary and primary schools are brought fully into touch with each other.

Endowed Secondary Schools.—In importance though not in number, these rank first among the secondary schools of London. They are the only class subject directly to any kind of public control, falling under the partial supervision of the Charity Commissioners under two aspects, (1) as Charities (under the Charitable Trusts Acts), (2) as educational endowments (under the Endowed Schools Acts).

There are at present thirty-seven endowed secondary schools for boys in London attended by 12,500 boys. Twenty-five are working under schemes drawn by the Endowed Schools Department of the Charity Commission, three are in a state of transition pending new schemes, and the remainder have not yet been reorganized,* or are outside the scope of the Department. There are besides a considerable number of un-reformed educational endowments especially in the City parishes which at present support "Parochial," "Charity," "Ward" schools or the like, and which will doubtless in due time become the nucleus of secondary schools under future schemes.

Proprietary Secondary Schools.—These are schools managed by Limited Companies. They are a connecting link between public and private schools, being conducted with no view to the profit of the head-master, but in some cases paying a dividend to the shareholders. Sometimes (as in the case of the Church Day Schools Company), the dividend may not exceed 5 per cent., and the surplus yielded by the high fee schools is used as a kind of quasi-endowment of those with lower fees. Sometimes (as at

* Some of these, as will be seen from the table on pp. 284-289, have been dealt with by the Court of Chancery before the appointment of the Endowed Schools Commission.

Blackheath) no dividend is payable, all surplus funds being applicable to the benefit of the schools.

In other cases, however, the line is very difficult to draw which separates them from schools conducted for private profit. There are at present ten proprietary schools for boys in London, the names of which can be found in the tables on pages 284-289, educating about 1800 boys.

In addition to these there are no fewer than 450 private adventure schools (for boys or girls) enumerated in the London Directory, besides those in the more suburban parts of the Metropolitan area, which are the paradise of the "academies" and "collegiate establishments" where the youth of a large though decreasing section of the middle class receive such education as they have.

The distribution throughout London of secondary boys' schools under some kind of public or semi-public control is shown in detail in the tables on pages 284-289.

The results may be thus summarized :—

School Board District.	Endowed.		Proprietary.		Total.		Per 1000 of population.	
	Accommodation.	Attendance.	Accommodation.	Attendance.	Accommodation.	Attendance.	Accommodation.	Atte
City	2,250	2,218	—	—	2,250	2,218	53·5	50·1
Westminster ...	1,530	1,351	500	294	2,030	1,645	9·8	7·6
Chelsea	1,450	1,191	—	—	1,450	1,191	3·3	2·7
Marylebone ...	1,000	613	1,180	827	2,180	1,440	3·7	2·4
Finsbury.....	1,360	1,350	300	120	1,660	1,470	3-2	·28
Hackney.....	1,220	1,160	—	—	1,220	1,160	2·8	2·7
Tower Hamlets.	1,500	1,151	—	—	1,500	1,151	3·4	2·5
Southwark	500	305	—	—	500	305	2·2	1·3
W. Lambeth ...	720	705	160	145	880	850	1.5	1·4
E. Lambeth ...	1,530	1,450	—	—	1,530	1,450	4·3	4·0
Greenwich	1,260	926	510	284	1,770	1,210	4·5	3·0

Thus the City is by far the best provided with opportunities for secondary education in proportion to the population. Next follows the School Board district of Westminster at a great distance, while in great parts of South, North, West,

and East London public secondary schools may be said to be practically non-existent.

The distribution of schools does not, however, correspond accurately to the distribution of scholars taking advantage of these schools. In these days of easy communication many of the boys travel a considerable distance to school. This is especially the case where a low-fee'd school has become unsuited to the district in which it is situated (as in the case of the Coopers' Grammar School, in the midst of Ratcliff slums), or of the schools in the City, which is decreasing rapidly in population.

The City schools, including the great Middle-class School in Cowper Street, and the old Mercers' School on College Hill, are mainly fed from a distance, and in any computation of the cost of the education to the parents travelling expenses should be added to the school fee. In residential districts, however, the secondary schools are mainly local in their character, and in several cases actual preference is given by scheme to pupils from neighbouring parishes. Thus to take the Eastern District of the Tower Hamlets and Bethnal Green, the residences of the pupils at five out of the six public secondary schools are given below :—

Residence of Pupils.	Parmiter's School (Bethnal Green).	George Green Schls. (Poplar).	Prisca Coborn School (Bow).	People's Palace Schl. (Mile End).	Whitechapel Foundation School
Bethnal Green.....	101	—	—	13	2
Poplar	—	90	5	27	—
Bow and Bromley ...	11	3	104	90	2
Mile End	5	2	36	52	7
Whitechapel.....	—	—	2	4	44
Stepney.....	—	29	8	40	6
St. George's-in-the-East.....	—	—	—	1	—
Hackney	180	2	—	31	—
Essex.....	22	51	45	77	8
Elsewhere.....	2	3	—	9	43
	321	180	200	344	112

These schools appear to be mostly local, except the People's Palace School, which draws from a wide area by means of scholarships.

Of the boys here enumerated, 568 live in the Tower Hamlets, and if we make a conjectural allowance for the school for which no returns are forthcoming,* and for boys going to schools outside the district, the following rough estimate may be made of the *number* of boys resident in each district of the Tower Hamlets who there or elsewhere attend a public secondary school of some kind.†

Whitechapel	100
St. George's-in-the-East	20
Stepney	150
Mile End Old Town	150
Bow and Bromley	300
Poplar	200
	920

This is a very small proportion of the children of suitable ages. The total number of boys attending such schools within the Tower Hamlets is 1151, the difference being mainly accounted for by an influx to East London schools from neighbouring parts of Essex.

Such being the existing state of facts, we are led to examine more closely the social and economic causes which have led to the present irregular distribution of opportunities of secondary education. Let us glance at the history of a typical endowment.

One day, towards the end of the sixteenth century, as Mistress Alice Wilkes was walking abroad in the fields at Islington she observed a woman milking, and had a mind to try whether she could milk. "At her withdrawing from

* The Coopers' School, Ratcliff.

† The Tower Hamlets only are included in this estimate, since so many outside schools are so easily accessible to boys living in Hackney, Shoreditch, &c., that if we included those districts the estimate would be merely conjectural. As it is there is a difficulty in estimating the number of Whitechapel boys attending schools in the City.

the cow," so the story continues, "an arrow was shot through the crown of her hat, which so startled her that she then declared if she lived she would erect something on that spot of ground to commemorate the great mercy shewn by the Almighty in that astonishing deliverance." Accordingly, in 1609, after completing the romance by marrying the archer (who turned out to be Sir Thomas Owen), she granted certain lands, called the Ermitage fields in Islington and Clerkenwell, to the Brewers' Company, for the support of ten poor widows. Four years later she expanded the charity by providing for a "free" school as well as almshouses, and set apart a farm of forty-one acres in Essex for the endowment of the school, to provide instruction for thirty children, twenty-four from Islington and six from Clerkenwell, in "grammar, fair writing, cyphering, and casting of accounts."

To this incident in the life of Lady Owen the districts of Islington and Clerkenwell are indebted for the possession of one of the most efficient secondary schools in London. Had the narrow escape occurred on any other spot Islington might now be as ill-provided as regards secondary schools as the most neglected regions in the North-West of London, while some other districts would be enjoying the educational advantages of "Dame Alice Owen's School."

The total endowment of school and almshouses amounted at first to about £50 a year, of which roughly two-fifths arose from the Essex Farm and was devoted to the school; while the remainder, the proceeds of the Islington land, supported the ten widows. But with the lapse of time the two endowments grew unequally, land in London rising in value far more than in Essex, until there was far too much for the almshouses, and far too little for the school. Accordingly, in 1830, the first readjustment took place, the Master of the Rolls ordering that two-fifths of the whole endowment should henceforth be paid

to the school, as at the time of the foundation. The school was visited in 1865 on behalf of the Schools Inquiry Commission. There were then in attendance 120 boys between the ages of ten and fourteen, chiefly sons of tradesmen in the district. The instruction was gratuitous, and "pretty fair . . . but there might be some improvement in all the subjects taught."* The endowment was between six and seven hundred pounds a year. Under the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, which followed the report of the Commission, the school was reorganized in 1878 by the Charity Commissioners.

It is now a typical, well-managed secondary school, though sadly cramped for space, having already outgrown the buildings erected in 1881. It is attended by 373 boys, paying fees varying from £4. 10*s* to £6 a year, of whom about three quarters are still drawn from Islington and Clerkenwell. About one-sixth of the pupils are sons of artisans or foremen, two-thirds are sons of clerks, tradesmen, managers, &c., and the remaining sixth are of the professional class. The school is especially successful in the modern branches of education.

The history of this endowment is a good illustration of the way in which the secondary schools of London have grown up. Endowments have been scattered about in an absolutely haphazard manner according to the whim of founders, and without the least relation to the wants of London as a whole. In Lady Owen's time the idea of a universal system of education had not arisen, and the scattered towns, villages, and hamlets in the neighbourhood of the Cities of London and Westminster had not been joined together as now into one vast London, but were isolated centres each to be treated independently of the others.

In the story of this school, moreover, we see an example of the working of the irresistible economic forces which have tended in course of time to throw charitable endow-

* Mr. Fearon's Report. Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. X.

ments still more completely out of relation to the needs of their districts, and the purposes for which they were devised. The changes in the distribution of population and wealth which have made the land of London rise in value out of all proportion to that of Essex, are typical of general changes under which the old unrevised endowments became continually more useless for educational purposes as time went on. Meanwhile many of the objects for which bequests used freely to be left, such as legacies for the ransom of Barbary prisoners, or prayers for the soul of the benefactor, had become or were becoming obsolete.

During last century the majority of the old foundations shared the paralysis which fell on other forms of associated effort, and on their decay rose the private adventure schools in which, until the recent revival of endowed schools, most boys of the middle class were educated. The last blow to the usefulness of the unreformed endowments was given by the famous decision of Lord Eldon at the beginning of the present century that the principal object of an endowment providing a grammar school for the poor was the teaching of Latin and Greek rather than the teaching of the poor; that it was nearer the intention of the founder to use the money to teach Latin and Greek to some other class of pupils than to give the class for whose benefit the legacy was designed an education suited to the altered circumstances of the times.* In the light of this strange interpretation of the doctrine of *cy-près*† it is easy to understand the oft-repeated and not unnatural complaints that have been made of the diversion to other classes of educational charities left for the poor.

At last the growing discrepancy between endowments and

* Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. I., p. 452. See also Sir Horace Davey's evidence before the Committee on the Endowed Schools Act, 1886.

† *Cy-près*—"as near as possible." In diverting an endowment the new object must be as nearly as possible akin to the old.

the objects for which they were intended, and the failure of the Court of Chancery to provide an adequate remedy, forced the community to interfere in a more drastic manner with the process. The first real step was the passing of the Chariable Trusts Acts of 1853, 1855, and 1860, which, taken together, gave power to a newly-formed Charity Commission to revise educational endowments in common with other charities. Under these Acts a considerable number of schools were reformed, including several London schools, such as the Lewisham Grammar School and the Godolphin School, Hammersmith. The Charity Commission proved far more effective than Chancery for the work they had in hand; they formed "an amicable tribunal of reconcilement rather than of litigation," and proceedings were accelerated and reduced in cost. But their jurisdiction over schools under this Act was very restricted. They could inquire into charities and compel the production of accounts, and facilitate and simplify the procedure for the execution of schemes. But their power to adapt charities to altered circumstances was strictly limited by the doctrine of *cy-près*. They were capable of "altering trusts which cannot be executed (or at any rate not without manifest absurdity); but not of altering trusts which can."* Even within these limits the Charity Commission could not easily take steps beyond inquiry without a local initiative.

These powers being insufficient, a temporary commission of three under the name of the Endowed Schools Commission was appointed in 1869, with power to revise educational endowments and with the consent of the trustees to divert to education endowments the purpose of which had failed. In such cases due regard was to be paid to the interests of the locality and the class of persons for whose benefit the endowment had been left, a rather puzzling task in the case of legacies for ransoming Barbary prisoners,

* Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. I., p. 632.

or for destroying lady-birds in Cornhill. The new Commission was unfettered by the necessity for a local initiative or by the restraints of the doctrine of *cy-près*. The Act appointing the Endowed Schools Commission was succeeded in the following year (1870) by Mr. Forster's Elementary Education Act, which provided for the organization of primary education. The new Commission and the first London School Board began therefore the reorganization of London schools about the same time, and at first their functions slightly overlapped, since endowments for elementary schools came at the beginning under the purview of the Commission. In the year 1873, however, an amending Act was passed relieving the Endowed Schools Commission of all matters relating to endowments of less than £100 a year attached to elementary schools.

In the early days of the Endowed Schools Commission a good deal of opposition was offered to their action, and a few schemes were even rejected by the House of Lords. One of the most fiercely contested schemes was that for Emanuel Hospital, Clapham. In London only one endowed school (Tenison's School) was revised until 1873. This was the year of greatest activity in the reform of London endowments, no fewer than nine important boys' schools being launched on a new career with revised schemes.*

The need for "eternal vigilance" over endowments if they are to be an aid instead of an impediment to education is seen in the fact that six out of these nine schemes have since had to be amended in detail, four of them twice. Of the other three schemes one has been altogether superseded, one is now in process of revision, and the

* Viz.: The Grocers' School, Hackney; Sir W. St. John's Upper School, Battersea; ditto, Middle School, Battersea; the Roan School, Greenwich; Aske's School, Hatcham; the Haberdashers' School, Hoxton; the Prisca Coborn School, Bow; the Emanuel School, Clapham; and the United Westminster Schools.

remaining scheme will probably soon be recast. This is said less as a reflection on the character of the original schemes than as a tribute to the energy of the Commissioners; but the fact proves amply the necessity for a permanent department, charged with the work of constantly adapting schools to altered conditions, whether by scheme or by some simpler process. The authority for this purpose should however be local rather than central.

On the expiration of the term of office of the Endowed Schools Commissioners in 1874, they were not reappointed, but their powers were transferred to an Endowed Schools Department of the Charity Commission.

The following table shows the progress of the Charity Commission in dealing with boys' schools since the change in 1874.

Schemes approved.

1875. St. Clement Danes (Holborn Estate Grammar School).
1876. St. Paul's School. Superseded, 1879.
1878. Dame Alice Owen School, Islington. Amended, 1879 and 1886.
1880. Camberwell Grammar School.
1882. Alleyn's School, Dulwich.
1883. St. Dunstan's College. Amended, 1887.
George Green Schools, Poplar.
1884. Parmiter's Foundation School, Bethnal Green.
1887. Colfe's Grammar School, Lewisham.
1888. Stationers' School, Bolt Court, E.C.
1888. Whitechapel Foundation School.
1890. St. Olave's Grammar School, Southwark.
1890. Christ's Hospital.
1891. Central Foundation Schools (Cowper Street Schools and certain other foundations combined).

Schemes published, but not yet in force.

St. Saviour's Grammar School, Southwark.
Coopers' Grammar School, Stepney; and
Prisca Coborn School, Bow (to be united).

There are in all 117 endowments in London subject to the Endowed Schools Acts, of which about 60 have been revised by the Commission, and a few are now in a state of transition. Those given above only include *boys'* secondary schools.

Thus the Commissioners have now been at work for twenty years striving to overtake the constantly accumulating work of revision of Endowments. They have done much, but now that their earlier schemes themselves require revision the task has outgrown the power of a central department.

The schools enumerated in the table on p. 538, provide for the most part a modern or semi-classical education, the curriculum consisting of the ordinary English subjects, two foreign languages, *e.g.* French and Latin or German, with mathematics, drawing, and natural science. Book-keeping and shorthand are sometimes added, and occasionally Greek is taught to a few of the boys. On the whole the arrangements for practical science instruction are very inadequate, and manual work, though contemplated in several of the later schemes, has as yet made little progress, except in a few cases, such as the United Westminster Schools, and where introduced is often treated merely as a form of recreation. Scientific and technical work could, however, be easily developed in many of these schools, and would as a rule be welcomed by the head-masters if the necessary funds for the purpose were forthcoming. Such work would serve as a useful corrective to the bias now given by secondary schools to their pupils towards the career of a clerk, though it would probably be a grave mistake to attempt to divert the

schools as a whole from their proper functions, and turn them into specialized technical institutions. On the whole, these schools, though of course varying very greatly among themselves in efficiency, are doing a great and little recognized work among a class whose education has been more neglected than that of any other section of the people. The greatest evils, next to the insufficiency of their number, are their isolation and want of co-ordination, and the irregular distribution of endowments.

The mass of the pupils are between the ages of 8 and 15. Some schools fix the lower limit at 7, and a few pupils stay beyond 15.

An analysis of the occupations of the parents of children in three endowed schools in the Eastern district gives the following result :—

	I.	II	III.	Total.	Percentages.
Professional	31	26	4	61	10
Middle class	243	129	87	459	74
Working class	47	32	21	100	16
	321	187	112	620	100

The estimate is only rough, for it is, of course, very difficult in many cases to draw the line accurately between professional, middle, and working class, since the books of the schools only record occupation, and many occupations do not correspond closely to a particular social class. The majority of the professional class who attend such schools are the sons of clergymen, doctors, accountants, and school-masters ; while licensed victuallers are prominent among the parents of the middle class, besides, of course, clerks, shopkeepers, managers, agents, and officials.

The working-class contribution to the pupils of secondary schools is drawn almost purely from the upper stratum, as will be seen from the following analysis of occupations of

parents of the boys of the working class at two endowed schools:—

I. (Bethnal Green.)			II. (Poplar.)	
Building Trades—			Joiner	2
Painter	2		Engineer	9
Plumber	2	6	Shipwright	1
Sawyer	1		Pilot	3
Carpenter	1		Cooper	1
Clothing Trades—			Pattern-maker	1
Silk-finisher and weaver	3		Boiler-maker	1
Shoemaker	5	15	Printer	2
Milliner and Dressmaker	4		Instrument-maker	1
Tailor	3		Ship and Boat-builder	2
Other skilled Trades—			Ship's Cook	1
Cabinet-maker and carver	5		Fancy Box-maker	2
Coach-builder	1		Labourer	1
Ivory-cutter	3			27
Block-cutter	1			
Printer	3			
Locksmith	1	23		
Watch and Instrument-maker	4			
Bookbinder	2			
Card Box-maker	1			
Cigar-maker	1			
Drug-grinder	1			
Street-sellers and Labour—				
Catsmeat-man	1			
Carman	1	3		
Dock labourer	1			
		47		

Proprietary schools giving the same kind of education draw their pupils purely from the professional and middle class, as is only to be expected, since they must charge a self-supporting fee. In such a school in North-West London the composition is as follows:—Professional, 29 per cent.; middle class, 71 per cent. Thus the great majority of the boys attending the secondary schools of London are of the middle and lower middle class, with a fringe of sons of professional men, and (in endowed schools) a sprinkling of the children of working men.

The governing bodies of London endowed schools vary very greatly in their composition. Ten are governed by City Companies, with or without schemes of the Charity Commissioners. A few schools not yet reorganized maintain

their original system of government. Until last year, when a new scheme came into force, the governors of St. Olave's Grammar School, Southwark, were sixteen members of the Church of England, residing, carrying on business, or rated in the parish. The original sixteen were appointed by letters patent of Elizabeth, and the survivors have filled vacancies ever since by co-optation. The governing body of St. Saviour's School, Southwark, is chosen in much the same way—the survivors being, however, assisted in the selection of new governors by "twelve discreet parishioners" whom they themselves nominate.

Most of the schools working under schemes of the Endowed Schools or Charity Commissioners are managed by mixed bodies of governors chosen in various ways, with an attempt at securing some degree of popular representation. Since the report of the Select Committee of 1886 on the Endowed Schools Acts,* the policy of the Commissioners has tended towards an increase in this popular element, but direct election by the ratepayers has never been resorted to in London. The scheme approved in 1888 for the Whitechapel Foundation School may afford us a specimen of the present policy of the Commissioners with respect to the constitution of governing bodies.

The Board consists of 16 members, appointed as follows:—

5 by the Vestry of St. Mary, Whitechapel.
1 „ Tower Hamlets Members of the London School Board.
2 „ Justices of the Peace for the Tower Hamlets.
1 „ Central Governing Body of the City Parochial Charities (when constituted).
7 by Co-optation.

Here 6 out of 9 of the nominated members are chosen by popularly elected local boards, so that a majority of popular

* Report of Committee, p. xiii.: "That the sympathies of localities should be enlisted by giving to the people a large share in the management by representation, either direct or indirect."

representatives may be said to be ensured on the whole governing body. Schools like this are, therefore, already under quasi-municipal control; and it would be but a step, if desired, to substitute a joint committee of the County Council and vestry or district council, and so draw the schools into the main stream of municipal life.

Proprietary schools are, of course, managed by the directors of the company or a committee responsible to them.

Private Schools.—Allusion has already been made to the existence of a large number of private schools conducted for the profit of the master. It is impossible to speak with any exactitude of the condition of the mass of these schools, as many of them are unwilling to furnish returns, and the facts given by those which supply particulars cannot be regarded as representative of the whole. Many of these schools are mere mushroom growths. A comparison of the lists of private schools mentioned in the London Directory for 1889 and 1890, respectively, shows the disappearance of 71 schools and the establishment of 38 in the interval.

The decrease in number shows how private schools are affected by the extension of Board schools on the one hand, and the revival of endowed schools on the other. Thirty years ago, when St. Olave's Grammar School was at a low point, there were nine flourishing private schools in the parish; now St. Olave's educates several hundreds of boys, and all the private schools have disappeared. Many of the existing private schools are "dames'" schools, preparatory to entering a secondary school; some are survivals, not yet crushed out, of the private elementary school of the pre-School Board age. The teachers of the private elementary schools feel keenly the competition of the Board Schools by which they are being crushed out of existence. That this process, however painful, is in some cases necessary is sufficiently obvious from the following letter which I received in answer to an application for

information from a private school, which, however, is of course not to be regarded as representative of its class :—

"Sir

I should feal great pleasure in sending you one of my cirulars I am sorry to say my School is closed The board shools has closed many

yours respectflly"

Other private schools are preparatory institutions for the great public schools.

Of the real secondary private schools many are well conducted and fulfil a useful function. Such schools, however, as a whole, are vastly inferior to publicly managed schools. The private schoolmaster has to maintain appearances amid increasing difficulties. His fees must compete with those of the endowed secondary school, and he must often accommodate parents who wish to drive a hard bargain for the second boy sent to the school, on pain of losing the third and fourth of the family. In extreme cases he may have even to arrange "reciprocal terms" with the butcher and grocer.* He must consult the wishes of individual parents far more than the master of a public school, and this has doubtless a good side, since it prevents a private schoolmaster from getting out of touch with the wants of his circle of clients. But the pressure to which he is liable and which he cannot afford to withstand is often most unhealthy, while as his object must be to make profit there is an almost irresistible temptation to raise fees, as soon as the school succeeds, and so place the school out of the reach of the class who need it most.

The number of subjects of instruction advertised in many private school prospectuses is absurdly large and out of all proportion to the capacities of the teaching staff or the possible income to be derived from pupils' fees. Many of these subjects must be badly taught, many are never

* See *Daily Telegraph* (Educational Advertisements), April, 1888.

taught at all. In one case the master admitted that all he could do was to refer pupils who asked for some of the subjects advertised, to institutions where they could obtain the instruction they required. The degrees attached to the names of many private schoolmasters are puzzling in the extreme. Such titles as F.S.Sc. (Lond.), and other wonderful permutations and combinations of letters, are of frequent occurrence. A thriving trade is done by agencies for the sale of degrees. While writing the present article I have received an invitation to become a member of a Society which in return for a modest subscription of 10*s* 6*d* confers among other privileges the right to use the letters "M.S.L.". "F.S.L." is a higher degree in this Society reserved for "active members." Diplomas, however worthless (especially the more expensive kind which carry with them the title of "Doctor"), impose on a large class of parents who in the absence of any real guarantee of efficiency in the schools to which they send their children, and of the leisure and capacity to make investigation for themselves, have no other measure of the value of the teaching than the pretensions of the teacher.

Registration of teachers would do something to meet this evil, which is by no means entirely confined to private schools.

Cost and Fees of Secondary Schools.—The cost of the education given in a secondary school varies of course with the breadth of the curriculum, the standard of the instruction, and the character and position of the buildings and apparatus. It is best for the purpose of this inquiry to exclude the upper class school where the expenditure is only limited by the fancy fees which parents can be induced to pay. Omitting also rent for buildings and land, which varies greatly with the situation of the school, and supposing that the initial cost of building has been defrayed, the average annual cost of a moderate-sized secondary school as carried on at present in London

appears from a comparison of the accounts of a number of schools to be about £9 per head.* Doubtless, under an organized system, we should be able to reduce many items of expense, the difference representing the waste and "leakage," due to the absence of co-ordination. On the other hand, many of the salaries paid to assistant masters are wretchedly insufficient, and it would be good economy, if the funds were forthcoming, to increase the expenditure on the salaries of the permanent staff.

The cost of maintenance of the schools is met from three main sources: scholars' fees, endowments or subscriptions, and grants from the Science and Art Department. The proportions in which these three sources contribute to the school funds vary greatly from school to school, and have, as will be seen, a marked influence on the character of the work. Some (like the schools of the Boys' Public Day School Company) are self-supporting by their fees; some (like Christ's Hospital before its reorganization) are almost entirely supported by endowment; some (like the People's Palace Day School) draw a large part of their income from Science and Art grants.

An examination of the accounts of six endowed boys schools working under schemes in various parts of London gives the following results :—

	Postal District.	Total income per head.			Endowment per head.			Income from Scholars per head.		
		£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
(1)	E.	8	4	0	5	1	0	3	3	0
(2)	E.	8	10	0	6	1	0	2	9	0
(3)	N.E.	10	18	0	3	15	0	7	3	0
(4)	S.E.	8	10	0	0	14	0	7	16	0
(5)	S.E.	8	13	0	2	17	6	5	15	6
(6)	S.W.	7	3	0	1	9	0	5	14	0

In all these schools the endowments or the fees are too large to allow them to earn any grant from the Science and

* This includes rates and taxes, and repairs.

Art Department. The proportion of the annual expenditure devoted to salaries of masters and to other purposes is shown in the following table:—

Postal District.	* Expenditure per head.	Do. on Head-Masters' Salary.	Do. on Assistant-Masters' Salary.	Do. on other purposes.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£. s. d.
(1) E.	8 4 0	1 17 0	3 9 0	2 18 0
(2) E.	8 10 0	2 4 0†	2 8 10	3 17 2
(3) N.E.	12 4 0	1 10 0	5 9 0	5 5 0
(4) S.E.	8 10 0	1 16 0†	3 18 6	4 15 6
(5) S.E.	8 5 0	1 15 6	3 11 0	2 15 6
(6) S.W.	7 11 0	5 6 0		2 18 6
				2 5 6

In most cases the head-master's salary is arranged on a sliding scale, consisting of £100 or more fixed, and a capitation fee of £1. 10*s* to £2 for every boy in the school—a form of "payment on results," which is free from many of the objections urged against salaries based on results of examination.

Proprietary schools do not differ essentially from endowed schools in the amount and distribution of their annual expenditure, but the income is all raised from the pupils, or from annual subscriptions, while in those which are a commercial speculation there may be a surplus to divide among the shareholders. In a school managed on commercial principles there is naturally a strong incentive to economy, especially in the matter of expenditure on buildings. No Schools Company would be likely to imitate the governors of St. Olave's Grammar School and build a splendid Elizabethan mansion, with carved staircases, blazoned windows, and panelled rooms, but without proper accommodation for teaching. Still the educational

* This is, as a rule, rather greater than the total income shown in the preceding table, showing that the schools have been drawing on their capital to a small extent.

† In these cases the head-master has a house, rent free, which is no included in the estimate.

value of a beautiful building is not to be ignored, and in so far as commercial management leads to the erection of ugly barrack-like structures the economy has its disadvantages. And there is moreover one fatal drawback to the self-supporting secondary school considered as a link in our educational machinery. It cannot adapt its fees to the wants of particular districts, being dependent on this income entirely for its financial success. Now, without starving the instruction, a secondary school of 300 boys cannot be carried on in London at an annual cost of less than £9 a head, and there is abundant evidence that n poorer districts, such as nearly the whole of the eastern postal district, an inclusive fee of £5 is the upper limit of the fee which can be charged in order to fill the schools.

Thus the Parmiter School in Bethnal Green is always crowded at a fee of £3. 15*s*, while the George Green Schools at Poplar, giving an education of the same kind, planted in a district of a similar character and drawing scholars from the same class, is never quite full at a fee of £6. It is clear then, that in a working class district there is a considerable class of parents who will pay a fee of £4, but will not pay £6. If, then, it is desired to reach this class the school cannot be self-supporting by its fees, and any institution which attempts the task will share the failure which attended the old Stepney Proprietary School. Proprietary schools may, therefore, continue to form a useful part of our secondary machinery for many years to come in suburban and moderately well-to-do districts where parents will pay a £9 fee, but they cannot solve the problem of continuing the work of elementary schools, unless, indeed, they may come to share in a general system of endowment by means of scholarships or otherwise.

The dependence, however, of proprietary schools on fees saves them at least from one danger which attends permanent endowments in the absence of continual and effective

supervision on the part of the governing body or some outside authority. The effect of such endowments may be to root in a particular neighbourhood, the conditions and wants of which are rapidly changing, a school which is too little dependent on fees to be compelled to change with the times. The remedy lies in a greater elasticity of scheme, and the free use by the Charity Commission or, still better, by the local authority, of powers of altering schemes or even of moving the whole endowment. The reality however of the evil and the length of time which may elapse before it can be remedied even in flagrant cases through the existing machinery, may be made clear by the history of an old unreformed free school.

It was founded early in the seventeenth century, five tenements in the City being given to one of the wealthiest of the City Companies out of which almshouses and a free school should be provided for the boys of the neighbourhood. In spite of the enormous increase of the value of the proceeds of the property, the company have only devoted a very small portion to the school, and an attempt to compel them to use the remainder for the benefit of the parish was refused some sixty years ago by the Court of Chancery. It would seem that the fact of a surplus, however small, being originally left to the company entitled them legally to absorb for their own use the whole of the increase.*

In 1865, when visited on behalf of the Schools Inquiry Commission, the school was far below the level of a primary school, was reported to be doing "quite as much harm as good to the education of the locality," and was further described in trenchant terms; yet when a few months ago I wrote to the school to make inquiries, I received an answer from the *same master* who received the Commissioner, the school having steadily declined during the

* Report of Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities (June 30th, 1837).

intervening quarter of a century.* Fortunately, the school has now at last been reached by the Charity Commission, and the endowment, enlarged out of the company's corporate funds, is to be used for scholarships to connect elementary and secondary schools in the neighbourhood.

Besides fees and endowment there is a third source of income mentioned above which is available for schools whose pupils belong to a class in which the family income is less than £400 a year.†

For the past forty years the Science and Art Department has given grants on the results of examination in various branches of science and art. The system was originally devised for the promotion of evening schools and classes. There was, however, no express refusal to aid day schools, and of late years a number of day schools for boys of from twelve to fourteen or fifteen have been started, basing their curriculum on the syllabus of the Department so as to earn a considerable proportion of the cost of maintenance by means of grants. The object of these technical schools is not to train the pupils in any particular trade but to give a general ground-work of scientific knowledge and proficiency in drawing and other manual work which will aid them in many branches of industry, and (what is still more important) give them a *bias* during school life towards manual occupations rather than towards the career of a clerk. The most conspicuous example of such a school in London is the day school at the People's Palace in the Mile End Road, where the curriculum is almost entirely composed of subjects taken from the Science and Art Directory. In that school the fees are nominal, half the pupils or more being admitted free by scholarships.

The absorption of a large proportion of the Science and

* Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. X., p. 82.

† The limit was £200 until last year.

Art grant every year by day schools of this pattern was not contemplated when the scheme of grants was devised, and it becomes a serious question how far the system is adapted to boys of twelve to fourteen. Already it has been modified to some extent to meet the altered conditions, by the introduction of capitation grants for schools which (like the People's Palace) provide an organized system of science instruction. But the main principle is still payment on results of examination.

It may be wondered how boys at so early an age can be made to hold their own with evening students of sixteen to twenty in the Science and Art Department's examinations. But what they lack in age they make up in the length of continuous study which is possible in a day school. The result is that a kind of equilibrium is set up between the more desultory evening work of older students and the continuous day work of young boys.

On the whole, experience seems to show that Science and Art grants to day schools are useful so long as they form a comparatively small part of a school's income, the examinations being used as a test of the work, rather than (primarily) as a means of financial support. But as soon as these grants supply the main part of a school's income, there is an almost irresistible tendency to work for the grant instead of considering the best interests of the boys. Subjects on which grants are not forthcoming are crushed out, and the curriculum instead of forming a really educational course is composed of a collection of Science and Art "subjects" taught according to a syllabus devised for pupils of a different age.

Without, therefore, denying the great amount of good work done under this system the apparently paradoxical conclusion is forced upon us, that it is not safe for any day school to rely on Science and Art grants as a source of income unless it is in a position to dispense with them. Within the next few years there will probably

be a radical readjustment of the method on which the Imperial payments for Science and Art instruction are distributed to day schools. The present time is one of transition, when the theory of the restriction of public aid to primary instruction has been eaten away by the expansion of the work of elementary schools on the one hand, and the subsidies given to Science and Art teaching, and to technical, commercial, and agricultural instruction on the other; without however the direct recognition in a broad sense of any duty of the State, centrally or otherwise, towards the general work of secondary education. While this lasts such schools as those we are considering must occupy an anomalous position and be shorn of half their usefulness. So soon as the claims of secondary education are frankly recognized the work of the Science and Art Department may take its proper place in an organized scheme, and it will no longer be necessary to teach applied mechanics from a cram text-book to boys of 13, with the vaguest knowledge of scientific principles, in order to save a school from bankruptcy.

Linkage. — Having reviewed the existing system of secondary schools in London, we have still to discuss their connection with elementary schools.

The principal way in which the two classes of schools are linked together is by means of scholarships and exhibitions. There are about 600 or 700 such scholarships for elementary scholars attached to public secondary schools in London, of which about half are localized: *i.e.* restricted, at all events in the first instance, to scholars from certain specified parishes. More often however than not, the required number of applicants do not present themselves from the favoured district, in which case the scholarships are thrown open to candidates from other parts of London, or even to boys already in the secondary school.

These scholarships vary in value from mere remission of the whole or part of the fees, up to sums of £20 a year or more.

There are, in addition, a considerable number of scholarships and exhibitions tenable at efficient secondary schools, either on independent foundations, such as "Starling's Charity," or attached to special elementary schools, or in the hands of the London School Board.* Many scholarship foundations have been created of late years by the Charity Commission, by the conversion of local endowments, too small to be of real use in other ways to the districts to which they are attached, into scholarships open to boys in the district and tenable at schools outside. In this way the foundation of Sir John Jolles, at Bow, is now in process of conversion into scholarships tenable at neighbouring schools. A good example of these scholarship-charities is Sir William Boreman's foundation in Greenwich, which has been devoted, since 1886, to providing scholarships for about one hundred elementary scholars to the Upper Nautical School of Greenwich Hospital. Under the amended scheme (August, 1889), these scholarships are restricted to candidates from the public elementary schools of a single parish. As a considerable number of scholarship charities were established under the Charitable Trusts Acts before the appointment of the Endowed Schools Commission, and no complete list of these earlier foundations can be obtained, it is difficult to estimate the total number of scholarships at present in existence connecting elementary and secondary schools in London. It is however probably under 1000.

The foundation of scholarships has been freely used by the Charity Commissioners as a means of compounding the claims of special districts and special classes to the benefits

* The number in the hands of the Board varies from year to year, several of the scholarships being given for a single term by City Companies, and afterwards renewed or not as the case may be. About fifteen to twenty are awarded to boys each year, indicating an approximate total of about fifty to sixty scholarships. Several of these scholarships are of the value of £30 a year.

of the reorganized endowments. Thus the Parmiter's School, which was formerly a free school for boys from Bethnal Green, and is now a fee-paying school open to all comers,* retains something of its former local character, and safeguards the interests of the poor, by offering eighteen scholarships to past pupils of elementary schools in Bethnal Green.

More than half the total number of elementary scholarships attached to London secondary schools are offered by two schools—the United Westminster Schools and the Drapers' School at the People's Palace. These institutions, therefore, far more than any others, have the character of pure continuation schools. The People's Palace in particular bases its curriculum on the supposition that its scholars have already passed through the elementary standards, and outsiders have to fit in as best they may. In other schools where the number of elementary scholars is always a very small percentage of the total number of the boys, the curriculum is arranged on the assumption that the boy is educated at the secondary school from an early age, and though special consideration is usually shown to scholarship holders, they have to find their places in a system constructed with a view to the requirements of a different class. As we are here brought face to face with the greatest difficulty in the co-ordination of elementary and secondary education, some further consideration of the point is necessary.

The secondary schools of past days, planted here and there according to the whim of the charitable founder, had naturally no relation with the primary schools which for the most part were not yet in existence. Even now the problem of linking the various grades of schools together remains to be solved, for in spite of the changes introduced by the Charity Commission, the old foundation schools still hang in the air, with little organic connection with the vast system of State-aided primary education which has

* With precedence for applicants from certain parishes.

grown up underneath them. The truth is that universal education is a modern idea, undreamt of in the days of the pious founders, who only hoped to give a chance of liberal education to a limited number of boys in special parishes; just as they founded the almshouses, with which the schools were often connected, with no intention of their forming part of a scheme of universal pensions. It is the development of universal primary education that has brought with it the need for some "capacity-catching" machinery for selecting the most promising boys from the elementary schools, and carrying their education to a higher point. Whether in turn this—the modern—idea will give place to the idea of universal secondary education, is a question for the future. The present problem is to devise the best machinery for selection.

In certain cases the best course may be to create special continuation schools to collect boys who have already passed through the elementary standards.* But it is not easy to adopt this method on a large scale in London, because the number of parents in any district willing to forego their children's earnings for a couple of years after leaving the elementary schools is hardly large enough to support a local school, and the expense of travelling makes the cost too heavy for parents at a distance. Where the plan has succeeded is where the education offered at the higher school, being technical in its character, has a direct bearing on the commercial value of the boy's labour in the future.

As a rule, then, we have, at least for some time to come, to utilize as continuation schools the existing supply of secondary schools in London, which thus have to discharge the double function of higher grade schools for the middle class and continuation schools for elementary scholars.

To construct a curriculum and time-table equally suited

* Such as those which are now being established in Wales.

to these two functions is not easy. In a school which keeps boys from seven or eight, to fifteen, the time-table is much more varied than in the elementary school where boys leave at twelve or thirteen. The result is that the elementary scholar on entering the school at twelve is in a different position from the boys of equal age who have received their education there throughout. He has probably learnt the "three R's" more thoroughly if more mechanically than those among whom he finds himself. They, on the other hand, have laid the foundation of other subjects (*e.g.* one or two foreign languages) of which, as yet, he is innocent.

The difficulty of adjusting the two objects of the school can be surmounted so long as the elementary scholars are not too numerous to be dealt with individually. A little separate instruction in backward subjects, either out of school hours or in a special class, is all that is needed, for the boys are above the average in cleverness, and are anxious to place themselves on an equal footing with their fellows. So far as I have been able to observe, head-masters are most willing to take the necessary trouble to work the scholarship system on its present small scale, and the London School Board are trying to help by giving special instruction to scholarship winners in the six months which often elapse between the award of the scholarship and entrance into the secondary school. But the problem becomes altogether different when the elementary scholars form a considerable percentage of the whole school, and the existing staff of masters, which is none too large, might find it difficult to do justice at once to the boys coming up from the lower forms, grounded in a number of subjects, and those streaming in from outside, knowing a few subjects well.

It is this, rather than any feeling of social difference, which lies at the root of the objection of many masters of secondary schools to any wide extension of the scholarship system on the existing lines. Class prejudice has little play

in London boys' schools—far less than in girls' schools; though, doubtless, the intermixture has been rendered easier by the fact that the elementary scholars, who as yet have found their way into London secondary schools, have been the aristocracy, no less socially than intellectually, of the schools from which they have been drawn. This appears clearly from the following analysis of the occupations of the parents of a hundred such scholars in three East London secondary schools, which from their situation in the heart of a working-class district are not likely to contain less than the average proportion of the working class.

Middle and Professional	Architect	1	70
	Retail Tradesmen	43	
	Licensed Victuallers	6	
	Clerks	4	
	Commercial Travellers and Agents	3	
	Warehousemen	2	
	Managers and Foremen	11	
Working class	Artisans	26	30
	Policeman	1	
	Street-seller	1	
	Labourers	2	

Thus the social class of the majority of the boys selected by scholarship does not differ very greatly from that of the other pupils of secondary schools. This fact, while smoothing over many practical difficulties of the scholarship system, shows plainly that it has as yet failed to reach more than the upper fringe of the working classes.

It must not, however, be thought that the number of scholarship holders is a sufficient measure of the degree to which secondary schools draw from the stratum beneath them. Thus, in one of the three schools just alluded to, which has only admitted thirty boys by scholarships since its foundation in 1886, no fewer than 222 boys, or 42 per cent. of the whole number, have been drawn from elementary schools during the same period. These boys consist mainly of two classes. There is first a large number who come for a single year, or even a single term, after

leaving the elementary school, in order to get a "finish." They derive little or no good educationally from the higher school, but they get not only a certain social prestige, but a commercial advantage when seeking a post, from being able to say that they have been at a secondary school. The other class consists of boys who come to the school at the age of eight or nine, having used the infant classes and lower standards of an elementary school as a preparatory department.

Before considering what alterations are needed in order to make an extension of the scholarship system possible, we may inquire a little further how far it works satisfactorily with regard to the limited number and limited class for whom the existing scholarships provide.

Here the evidence is very conflicting. In many of the schools we find that as yet the number of entries for scholarships leaves much to be desired. At one school, the offer of "junior" scholarships (of £4 a year, rising to £6 after two years), open to penny schools only, in the neighbourhood, produced very few candidates in the first three years. On the other hand at another school, not far off, two hundred candidates are attracted for twenty to forty scholarships, entitling to remission of fees.*

The facts seem to show two things: first that the scholarship system is capable of being worked so as to produce a really active competition for vacancies, whereby there is reasonable certainty of securing scholars of exceptional ability, and, secondly, that in its present form it often fails to achieve this object.

Many reasons have been given for the failure in certain cases. It has been alleged that many elementary teachers are anxious not to part with their best boys, and without their co-operation any scholarship scheme must break

* In the last case, part of the exhibitions were open to others than elementary scholars. More than two-thirds, however, are taken by scholars who have been at an elementary school.

down. But the scheme for junior scholarships at the school, the failure of which has been mentioned, was drawn up by the head-master in consultation with the head-teachers of the poor schools in question. Another explanation is the want of co-operation of the London School Board, who while circulating notices of scholarships to their teachers, decline to order them to be posted up in the elementary schools. Doubtless some hitch has occurred of this kind in certain cases, but the success of the system in other schools which would be equally affected by this obstacle proves that it is not at the root of the problem, though no doubt if the secondary schools were organized under public control the difficulty would be lessened or removed. But the real question to be solved is not merely the circulation of notices, but the adaptation of the scholarships to the needs of the children. No amount of advertising will in the end make an unpopular article "go," and it is to be feared that it wants much more than a mere remission of fees to make higher education popular in poor districts. The experience of "junior scholarships" open to penny schools in such a district shows conclusively that the offer of free education fails to "catch capacity" from among the children of the poor, where the loss of a boy's earnings is a serious pinch to the family. Nothing is more disheartening than to find clever but poor children winning scholarships, and their parents compelled to refuse them on this ground.

Again, elementary scholars enter secondary schools at ages varying from 11 to 13. As a rule they do not stay at the school much beyond the age of 14. At the date of my visit to the George Green School, Poplar, there were only two such scholars over this age, while the average age of the elementary scholars who have left Parmiter's School is only $13\frac{1}{2}$. Two results follow from the present system. In the first place, the boys who are successful in the competition for scholarships come from

the richer homes, for by the age of 11 or 12 the influence of the home atmosphere has had time to tell to such a degree as to handicap severely the boys from rougher homes where there is little appreciation of education and little opportunity for quiet study. Thus we get an undesirable social selection. In the second place, the stay in the higher school is quite insufficient to enable the boys to take full advantage of the instruction, especially as the greater part of the first few months must be occupied with getting abreast of the other boys in subjects not taught in elementary schools.

A remedy which would go to the heart of the difficulty would be *to tap the elementary school in the middle, instead of skimming it from the top,* by lowering the age of admission of scholarship holders to 10 or 11. If this were done a readjustment of the method of selection might have to be made, since children differ so much in their rapidity of development that a special examination test at such age is hardly calculated to catch the best talent. The method tried in connection with the United Westminster Schools, where candidates are preferred at the age of ten, is that of a limited competition among boys nominated by the head-teachers of the elementary schools in the district. Perhaps the best plan of all would be to lay down a rule that any child who passed the fourth standard under the age of 10 should be entitled, without further examination, to claim a scholarship at a higher school. The lowering of the age of admission would solve many difficulties. It would be almost certain to increase the number of candidates and would give fairer play to the poorer children, while to a great extent it would avoid disorganizing the curriculum of the higher schools. If the change were carried out it would be possible largely to increase the percentage of scholars in those schools without danger. But such a reform to be effectual needs to be backed up by an increase in the value of the scholarships, especially in poorer districts. The scholarships

should increase in value from year to year so as to provide a progressively increasing inducement to parents to prolong their children's education. If the age of candidates were limited to ten, the scale might be constructed on something like the following plan :—

1st year.	2nd year.	3rd year.	4th year.	5th year.
10—11	11—12	12—13	13—14	14—15
Fees.	Fees+£5.	Fees+£7. 10*s.*	Fees+£10.	Fees+£12. 10*s.*

Changes such as these would give new life and vigour to the scholarship system, though doubtless exceptional provision would be necessary for the case of boys whose abilities develop later than the limit of age allowed. Every improvement of machinery, however, only makes it more urgent that we should form a clear conception of the lines on which we wish ultimately to move with regard to higher education. To open up a connection between elementary and higher schools does not by itself solve this question. What it does is to take a few boys from one class, and place them among a number of boys of another class, coming from a different kind of home and aiming at a different kind of career. The new-comers must assimilate themselves to their new surroundings under the penalty of miserable isolation during their school career. They are, as a rule, clever boys, and masters say they "mix in well"—that is they readily imitate the manner and catch the ideas of those around them. In other words, such sons of artisans as secure scholarships tend to receive in the higher school the stamp of middle-class ideas, and an almost irresistible bias towards a middle-class trade or profession. If this be, as it is, a perversion of the aim of continuation schools, some powerful corrective must be

applied. The question is not between a liberal and a "technical" training; for with the class for whom these schools provide, any studies must directly or indirectly be to a great extent "bread studies." It is rather a question between predisposing the boys towards quill-driving or towards handicraft. One conclusion then of this inquiry is that a great want in London secondary schools which will be increasingly felt in the future, is a more practical and modern curriculum;—not necessarily a distinctively technical course of instruction, but one which at least recognizes the fact that a change in the class from which the pupils are drawn necessitates a corresponding change in the education to be provided, and that with the co-ordination of our secondary and elementary school systems the unbroken tradition of purely literary training, which has been handed down in our grammar schools from the Middle Ages, must come to an end.

The Charity Commission in their recent schemes have done much to recognize the changes which are coming over the problem of secondary education.

[*Note to Edition of* 1892.—The most important reform accomplished since the above was written, is the re-organisation of the great foundation of Christ's Hospital, the revenues of which will in future support five schools, of which the three boys' schools will have accommodation for over 1400.

Another important recent scheme is that for the endowment of the Cowper Street Middle Class Schools, and the foundation of a Higher Commercial School out of the funds of various foundations. The Coopers' School, Ratcliff, and the Coborn School, Bow, have been united and now form one school with over 500 boys.

These schemes of the Endowed Schools Department of the Charity Commission will result in a considerable and

very greatly needed extension of the secondary school accommodation in London. Moreover, some at least of the new technical institutes, for which schemes have been lately formed by another Department of the Commission under the City Parochial Charities Act, will probably include day continuation schools.]

Table giving particulars of Endowed and Proprietary Secondary Schools for Boys within the London School Board District (1890).

School Board District.	Name of School.	Date of Foundation.	Date of Re-organization.	Under what scheme, if any.	Accommodation.	No of Pupils.	Ages of Pupils.	Fee per year.	Remarks.
City	*Endowed* Merchant Taylors' School	1561	1875	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	500	512	9—19	£12. 12*s* to £15*s*. 15*s* (£4. entr.)	Classical and modern sides, a first grade school
	City of London	1834	—	Special Act	700	700	7—19	£12. 12*s* to £15. 15*s*	Governed by the City Corporation by special Act of Parliament
	Stationers' School	1859	1888	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	150	106	8—16	£8	Removal contemplated
	Mercers' School	1542	—	—	150	150	8—	£5	Admission by nomination by Court of Assistants of Mercers' Company. No special endowment. School existed for centuries before adoption by Mercers' in 1542
	Christ's Hospital	1553	1782	Special Act	750	750	8—19	(Free, with board and lodging)	Admission by nomination. New scheme pending for diversion of endowment to support day and boarding schools
Westminster	*Endowed* Westminster School	1560	1868	Public Schools Commission	300	240	10—19	£31. 10*s* (day), £99. 15*s* (board)(entrance, £5. 5*s*)	Public school curriculum

	St. Clement Danes	1862	1875	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	130	67	8—17	£4. 10*s*	Situation unsuitable.
	Archbishop Tenison's Grammar School	1685	1871	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	250	200	7—15	£5. 5*s* to £6. 15*s*	—
	United Westminster Endowed Schools	1594 1633 1650 1708	1873 and 1878 —	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	850	844	7—15	£4. 10*s* to £6. 6*s*	Large number of scholarships from elementary schools. Wood and metal workshops. Connected with Emanuel School
	Proprietary								
	King's College School	1829	—	—	500	294	8—18	£15. 15*s* to £25. 4*s* (entrance fee, £3. 14*s* 6*d*)	Classical, mathematical and commercial sides, wood and metal workshops (extra fee)
Chelsea	*Endowed*								
	St. Paul's School	1509	1879	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	650	596	12—19	£24. 9*s*	Public school curriculum
	Godolphin School	1703	1856	Chancery	250	235	7—18	£12.12*s* (day) £57. 15*s* (boarders)	Classical and modern sides
	St. Mark's College Sch. (Upper)	1841	—	—	350	346	7—15	£3. 3*s* to £6. 6*s*	Attached to St. Mark's Training College
	Kensington School	1831	1869	—	200	14	—	£20 (day) £80 (boarders)	Formerly a limited company; reconstituted in 1869, and now managed by trustees. Chiefly preparatory
Marylebone	*Endowed*								
	Polytechnic Day Sch.	1882	1891	Charity Commission (City Parochial Charities)	600	528	7—17	£4. 14*s* 6*d* to £7. 17*s* 6*d*	Forms part of the Polytechnic Institute to be aided out of the City Parochial Charities. Has three divisions, professional, commercial and technical

Table giving particulars of Endowed and Proprietary Secondary Schools for Boys within the London School Board District (continued).

School Board District.	Name of School.	Date of Foundation.	Date of Re-organization.	Under what scheme, if any.	Accommodation.	No. of Pupils.	Ages of Pupils.	Fee per year.	Remarks.
Marylebone continued	William Ellis Endowed School	1889	—	—	400	85	8—16	£6. 6*s*	Up to 1889 was an Elementary School. Carpenter's workshop
	Proprietary								
	University College Sch.	1833	—	—	600	512	9—19	£25. 4*s*	Large number of subjects taught. Classification in various subjects independent. Wide choice left to parents
	Philological School	1792	—	—	250	160	8—16	£10. 10*s*	In union with King's College
	Kentish Town School	1883	—	—	330	155	7—16	£9 to £12	Boys' Public Day School Company
Finsbury	*Endowed*								
	Dame Alice Owen's School	1613	1878	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	360	350	9—16 and 17	£6	Successful in commercial instruction; laboratory badly needed, technical instruction contemplated in scheme, but not yet provided
	Cowper Street School	1866	—	—	1000	1000	7—	£5. 5*s*	New scheme pending for Endowment. Technical instruction in engineering and woodwork
	Proprietary								
	Islington High School for Boys	1830	1880	—	300	120	8—18	£9. 9*s* to £12. 12*s*	—

Hackney	*Endowed*								
	Grocers' School	1873	—	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	500	486	10—15 or 17	£8 to £10 (day), £30 to £40 (boarders)	
	Haberdashers' School (Hoxton)	1695	1875	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	400	354	7—17	£4. 4*s*	Small carpenter's shop
	Parmiter's Foundation School (Bethnal Green)	1681	1884	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	320	320	10—16	£3. 15*s*	Wood and metal workshops contemplated in scheme but not yet provided
Tower Hamlets	*Endowed*								
	George Green's School (Poplar)	1828	1882	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	200	180	6—16	£4. 10*s* to £6. 18*s*	Small carpenter's shop (used out of hours)
	Prisca Coborn's School (Bow)	1873	—	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	400	204	8—16	£3. 15*s* to £6	New scheme of Charity Commissioners pending to unite with Cooper's School
	Whitechapel Foundation School	1854	1888	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	200	117	7—16	£3	Wood and metal workshops contemplated in scheme. Technical work now provided outside the school by Whitechapel Craft School.
	Coopers' Comp. Grammar School (Ratcliff)	1538	—	—	300	300	7—	£2. 2*s*	New scheme pending to unite with Prisca Coborn's School.
	People's Palace Day School (Drapers' Companies' Institute)	1887	—	Charity Commission (City Parochial) (Charities dep.)	400	350	12—14 or 15	£1	Mainly a Technical Continuation School by scholarships from Elementary Schools. "Organized Science School" in connection with S. Kensington
Southwark	*Endowed*								
	St. Saviour's Grammar School	1562	1850	Chancery	100	35	8—	£6. 18*s*	New scheme pending
	St. Olave's Grammar School	1571	1890	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	400	270	7—	£4. 4*s* to £6. 6*s*	New scheme will provide for 600 boys and technical workshops.

Table giving particulars of Endowed and Proprietary Secondary Schools for Boys within the London School Board District (continued).

School Board District.	Name of School.	Date of Foundation.	Date of Re-organization	Under what scheme, if any.	Accommodation.	No. of Pupils.	Ages of Pupils.	Fee per year.	Remarks.
West Lambeth	*Endowed*								
	Sir Walter St. John's Upper School (Battersea Grammar School)	1700	1873	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	150	145	7—16	£6. 6*s* to £9. 9*s*	Sir W. St. John's Middle School acts as a feeder.
	Emanuel School	1594	1873	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	270	268	7—16	£9 (day) £30 (boarders)	Boarding School connected with United Westminster School
	Sir Walter St. John's School	1700	1873	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	300	292	7—16	£3 to £5. 2*s*	Connected with Sir W. St. John's Upper School.
	Proprietary								
	Clapham School	1884	—	—	160	145	7—16	£9 to £12	(Boys' Public Day School Company)
East Lambeth	*Endowed*								
	Dulwich College	1619	1858	Scheme re-constituted by Special Act 1857 Amending schemes 1882, &c., by Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	600	583	10—19	£21 (day), £81(boarders)	Used to be united with Alleyn's School till Corporation was dissolved in 1857. Has classical and modern sides, and fine engineering workshops
	Wilson's Grammar School	1615	1880	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	400	350	8—17	£10	—

E. Lambeth cont.	Alleyn's School	1619	1858 and 1889	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	530	517	8—17	£8	Same foundation as Dulwich College
Greenwich	*Endowed*								
	St. Dunstan's College (Catford Bridge)	1888	—	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	400	216	8—17	£13. 10*s* to £16. 10*s*	Provision for scientific work and carpentry
	Colfe's Grammar School (Lewisham)	1656	1890	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	200	40	7—16 or 18	£9. 9*s* to £12. 12*s*	Accommodation given refers to new buildings. Scheme provides for technical work as soon as income allows
	Haberdashers' Aske's School (Hatcham)	—	1873 amended since	—	300	310	8—18	£8	Foundation scholarships for 10 per cent. of the pupils. There is a commercial side
	Roan's School (Greenwich)	1643	1873	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	360	360	7—16 or 17	£6. 6*s*	—
	Proprietary								
	Blackheath Proprietary School	1830	—	—	150	125	Up to 18 or 19	£20. 8*s* to £27. 15*s* (day), £80. 8*s* to £87. 15*s* (boarders)	Public School Curriculum
	Woolwich and Plumstead High School	1879	—	—	140	58	8—17	£6. 6*s* to £9. 9*s*	Managed since 1888 by Church Schools Company (Ltd.)
	West Kent Grammar School (Brockley)	1887	—	—	220	101	8—17	£7. 17*s* 6*d*	Church Schools Company (Ltd.)

(2.) Girls.

The best secondary education for girls in London is provided by self-supporting, or almost self-supporting schools. The sisters of the boys who go to the great endowed schools such as St. Paul's, Westminster, Dulwich College, Merchant Taylors', and the City of London, will be found in the schools of the Girls' Public Day School Company, in other proprietary public schools, in private schools, or at home under the tuition of governesses and masters. In such schools the age at which the girls generally leave is from about seventeen to nineteen. The majority of the endowed schools for girls are used by parents of the middle class who either cannot afford or do not care to send their daughters to school for so long a period, and the age at leaving is in such schools from fifteen to seventeen. These two classes of secondary schools are generally referred to as High Schools and Middle Schools.

Self-supporting as are the majority of them, their fees are generally much below those of the endowed schools for boys. Omitting private schools the High Schools in London are :—

Schools.			Founded.	Fees.	Accommodation.
North London Collegiate		N.W.	1850	above £15	500
Notting Hill, Bayswater	G. P. D. S. Co.	W.	1873	£9-£15	1850
Maida Vale	,,	W.	1878		
Highbury and Islington	,,	N.	1878		
Kensington	,,	W.	1880		
South Hampstead	,,	N.W.	1882		
Clapton and Hackney	,,	E.	1886		
Kent and Surrey (Intra Metropolitan)—					
Dulwich	G. P. D. S. Co.	S.E.	1878	£9-£15	1550
Blackheath	,,	S.E.	1880		
Wimbledon	,,	S.W.	1880		
Clapham	,,	S.W.	1882		
Sydenham	,,	S.E.	1887		
Brixton	,,	S.W.	1887		

Church of England High Schools—				
Baker Street	N.W.			
Graham Street	S.W.			
Church Schools Company—				
Stoke Newington	N.	1886	£6-£12	
Stroud Green	N.	1887	£7-£10	
Mary Datchelor's	S.E.	1876	£9	480
Aske's, Hatcham		1876	£9	250

The last two schools both have endowments enabling them to charge low fees. The North London Collegiate has been endowed to the extent of having its schools built for it and a yearly endowment for maintenance of premises and for granting scholarships. It charges the highest fees, but has a larger number of free scholars than any other public high school, receiving, in addition to its own scholars, pupils from the Camden Middle Schools with leaving scholarships. The Girls' Public Day School Company, however, which has no endowment and which pays a dividend, covers the largest area with its high schools. The private schools in the same districts are therefore only handicapped in competition with them by the advantages and economy in teaching power resulting from the organization of large numbers under one management; and in the West and North-West of London and in the middle-class suburban districts several good private schools hold their own with the public schools.

The public middle schools are, with hardly any exception, endowed. The G. P. D. S. Co. have a middle school at Clapham for about 200 girls. The Camden School is endowed in the same way as the North London Collegiate, several scholarships being open to girls in the school to enable them to pass on to the high school. The Clapham middle school makes no profit, and all the other public middle schools offer an education below cost price. The fees are in some cases lower than the endowments warrant, and the

teaching staff are therefore often underpaid and the school accommodation and teaching apparatus are deficient. Such being the case in these endowed schools, it is absolutely impossible for any good private schools of the same standing to exist in those neighbourhoods, those that are to be found charging still lower fees and giving nothing worthy of the name of instruction.

The principal public middle schools are those regulated by schemes under the Endowed Schools Acts in connection with the Charity Commission. The ordinary fees range from £3. 15*s* to £8.

Schools.	Numbers.
James Allen's, Dulwich	296
Camden, Kentish Town	427
Dame Alice Owen's, Clerkenwell	255
Roan's, Greenwich	350
Lady Holles', Hackney	243
Aske's, Hoxton	226
George Green's, Poplar	105
Holborn Estate, St. Clement Danes	62
Burlington, Westminster	220
Grey Coat, Westminster	336
St. Martin's, Westminster	195
Skinners' Company's, Stamford Hill (opened October, 1890).	

These middle schools all send in their pupils for the Cambridge or Oxford Junior Local and the South Kensington examinations; the curriculum is in most cases practically determined by the Cambridge authorities. Religious knowledge, English grammar and literature and history, arithmetic, geography and French are subjects taken up by all the pupils. Mathematics, Latin, and German are taught in the highest forms according to the judgment of the head-mistress, the work done in the two latter subjects being generally very little. Although in some of the schools botany is well taught and physiology to some extent, in connection with the laws of health, the

science teaching in several of them must be admitted to be of a very elementary as well as of an unsatisfactory nature. This is partly due to the expense of scientific apparatus, and in part to the slight importance attached to such training by the head-mistresses.* In the seven middle-class schools visited, drawing was taught throughout in every case, much importance being attached by all the head-mistresses to this training of the eye. In most cases the pupils are examined by the South Kensington Art Department. At one school where the teaching is very good the head-mistress, however, objects to send her pupils in for examinations held in the evening and at the same time and place as those of the boys. Theory of music is a strong feature in one of the schools; class singing is taught in all of them, and several pupils in each school pay extra fees for pianoforte and a few for violin lessons.

The views of parents as well as of head-mistresses differ very much on the question of what must be called practical rather than technical education. The head-mistresses in some cases consider that it is far more important to give the girls the intellectual training which they could never get elsewhere than to spend time on what they will be willing if necessary to learn at home or at classes after leaving school. Similarly many parents show not only an unwillingness to pay extra fees for their daughters to learn cooking and dressmaking, but also a positive dislike to their giving up their time to it in the ordinary course, considering that they can learn it much better elsewhere when they leave school. The cost of apparatus and materials and the small numbers that can receive practical

* One head-mistress in East London thought it would be impossible to obtain botanical specimens for dissection and also useless for London girls to study botany; another, also in East London, taught the subject throughout the school and said that the girls themselves kept the classes well supplied with specimens.

instruction at any one time make it very difficult to establish cookery classes without extra fees.

This is not, however, the universal experience. In one school demonstration lessons are given to the girls in the third and fourth forms, and then for one week in the year two children go down into the kitchen and give their whole time in the morning throughout the week to cooking. A large number of the children dine at the school, and therefore these two help to cook the dinner. At this school tennis matches are not infrequent, and the girls cook for the teas given on these occasions. In a fourth school cookery is taught by a teacher with a South Kensington certificate. It is taught with the very simplest apparatus, so that the girls can apply it at home. Here also the girls frequently do the cooking for the school entertainments.

Gymnastic exercise is insisted on in different degrees in all the schools but one, where it is entirely neglected. It may be noted as a curious coincidence, certainly not as an effect of this, that the girls in this school seemed to need it less than in any of the other schools. All the schools suffer considerably from want of sufficient accommodation, although in each case where there is no gymnasium the head-mistress is agitating for it with fair hopes of success. Swimming is very popular at two of the schools which have been successful in securing the bath for themselves on the day that the water is clean. Two other schools would have promoted swimming classes but for their failure to secure clean water.

The classes from which these middle schools are recruited may be fairly well indicated by the following list of occupations of the fathers of girls in the two highest forms in one of the East End schools:—

Clerk (12).	Private schoolmaster.	Potted meat manufacturer.
Wesleyan minister.	Supercargo.	
Farmer.	Electrical surgeon.	Sewing machine maker.
Surgeon.	Chemist (2).	Licensed victualler.

Rate collector.
Bootmaker and shopkeeper (2).
Draper (2).
Architect.
Baker.
Doctor.
Manager.
Workhouse master.
Builder.
Master mariner.
Auctioneer.
Milk-shop keeper.
Grocer.
Hay dealer.
Shopkeeper.
Officer (dead).

During the twelve years since this school was started there has only been one bad debt. Notwithstanding this, the head-mistress knows that several of the parents have very small incomes, and have more difficulty in paying the fees than many an artisan. The head-mistress of a neighbouring school of the same class believes that few of the parents, consisting of tradesmen, managers and clerks, with a sprinkling of the professional class, have less than £200 a year. The head-mistress of another middle school where the majority of the girls are the daughters of clerks, knows that several of the parents do not make more than well-paid mechanics.

This cursory review of the kind of education given at these middle schools has been made with the special view of understanding the position of children who, having received an elementary education in the Board schools or voluntary schools, have been enabled to pass on to the middle schools. In claiming endowments for the education of girls, the needs of different classes must be considered. An attempt is here made to ascertain to what class of society the girls belong who have gone from the elementary public schools to secondary schools, the length of time that they remain in the secondary schools, their success in the schools themselves, and the occupations that they have taken up on leaving them. It has been stated in the section on boys' education that class prejudice has less play in London boys' schools than in girls' schools. This is true, but the explanation is not to be found in a greater snobbishness inherent in the nature of girls than exists in that of boys. Social differences are more keenly observed

in girls' schools because the education of girls is deliberately and rightly directed to fitting them for the social life which they will most probably lead; a boy's education is civic, a girl's domestic. The domestic needs and habits of different classes vary considerably, and there may be a danger that in promoting the secondary education of girls of the working classes along the same lines as those pursued by the girls of the middle classes their domestic happiness may be sacrificed to a theoretical equality. Two problems have to be considered and treated differently. We have to consider the best means for improving the education of working class girls generally, and we have also to make provision for those girls whose exceptional ability is such as to give them a claim to better opportunities for cultivating it. Under any circumstances these exceptional girls will have much social and domestic tribulation, and the best course may be to let them follow their intellectual bent and make the most of their talents even at the risk of unfitting them for their domestic life.

As with the boys, so with the girls, we find great variations in the numbers of candidates for scholarships at different schools. At one school, which awards entrance scholarships to pupils of elementary public schools, only six girls competed on one occasion for three scholarships, and only three on another occasion for two scholarships. At another school the competition is open to boys and girls together on equal terms; large numbers compete from all parts of London, and at the last award fifteen of the forty scholarships were won by girls and three hundred girls competed. A third school, with a very large endowment and extremely low fees, has generally about eighty girls in the school holding free scholarships. For some time these were awarded in open competition between the pupils of all the elementary public schools in the prescribed districts, but this resulted in a dead lock, as the pupils of a certain school always won. The other schools objected to competing, and the

winning school objected to being drained of all its best pupils. Now the head-mistress of each elementary school nominates three children, and the head-mistress of the middle school selects one of these. The managers of this school, like those of every other school of the same kind, have found that the later the age at which these scholars enter the less progress they make, and no children are now admitted to free scholarships above the age of eleven. Opinions on the advisability of this limit are almost unanimous, but while approving of it two consequences must be noticed. At such an early age competitive examination is of little value as a test of superior ability, and precocity is liable to be mistaken for talent; for all practical purposes the scholarships might as well be awarded at once to the cleanest and healthiest-looking children. Another result is that the head-mistress of the elementary school is strongly tempted under the system of payment by results to keep back from competition the girls who are most likely to do her credit, and who would otherwise leave two years before the ordinary age. Several schools award no scholarships to elementary scholars, but many girls are sent to them from elementary schools at the parents' own expense. Particulars have been obtained as often as possible of both classes of girls.

Occupations of fathers of girls admitted to middle schools with scholarships :—

Railway guard.	Oilskin dresser.	Coachman.
Ship carpenter (3 children held scholarships).	Waterproofer.	Clerk (5).
	Board schoolmaster (3).	Foreman.
Joiner.	Master blacksmith.	Sorter, P. O.
Gate-keeper.	Printer (2).	Joiner.
Caretaker.	Commercial traveller (3).	Manufacturer.
Wheelwright.	Builder.	Engineer.
Ironplate worker.	Tax collector.	Tailor.
Cheesemonger.	Jeweller (2).	

Occupations of fathers of girls admitted to middle

schools from elementary public schools without scholarships :—

Butcher (2).
Superintendent Registrar.
Iron merchant.
Bank manager.
Clerk (12).
Collector to a hospital.
Inspector of Inland Revenue.
Gold eye-glass maker.
Sculptor (3).
Tailor.
Commercial traveller (4).
Manufacturer.
Gasfitter.
Engraver (3).
Builder (5).
Merchant (2).
Pianoforte dealer.
Music publisher.
Surveyor.
Draughtsman.
Pianoforte maker (2).
Upholsterer (3).
Wood-inlayer.
Chemist's assistant.
Fishmonger.
Printer (3).
Salesman.
Ironmonger's assistant.
Postmaster.
Fruiterer.
Grocer.
Farmer.
Bootmaker.
Milk contractor.
Manager of bakery.
Chartered accountant.
Writer in Law Courts.
Piano tuner.
Baker (2).
Scientific instrument maker.

Occupations of fathers of girls admitted to high schools with scholarships :—

City missionary.
Accountant (2).
House decorator.
Blacksmith.
Carpenter.
Ship metaller.
Engineer.
Coal merchant.
Watchmaker.
Pianoforte maker.
Clerk.
Schoolmaster (4).
Boiler maker.
Stationer.
Barrister.
Presbyterian minister.
Joiner.

The girls in high schools are not admitted on scholarships awarded by the schools themselves, but on large scholarships open to girls in public elementary schools, the winners being allowed to choose the school at which they will use it.

Years spent in middle schools by free scholars from elementary schools :—

Years in school.	No.
Under 1 year	13
1 ,, ...	45
,, 2 ,, ...	16
,, 3 ,, ...	8
,, 4 ,, ...	4
,, 5 ,, ...	3
Total	89

Age at entrance.	No.	Average years in school.	Average age at leaving.
10 ...	1 ...	1·0 ...	11·0
11 ...	13 ...	2·66 ...	13·66
12 ...	32 ...	1·53 ...	13·83
13 ...	43 ...	1·45 ...	14·45
—	89 ...	1·65 ...	13·96

Years spent in middle schools by elementary scholars without scholarships :—

Years in school.	No.
1 year	13
2 ,, ...	22
3 ,, ...	11
4 ,, ...	7
5 ,, ...	5
6 ,, ...	1
7 ,, ...	2
Total	61

Age at entrance.	No.	Average years in school.	Average age at leaving.
7 ...	2 ...	5·0 ...	12·0
8 ...	2 ...	5·0 ...	13·0
9 ...	4 ...	5·75 ...	14·75
10 ...	2 ...	3·0 ...	13·0
11 ...	4 ...	3·0 ...	14·0
12 ...	9 ...	2·33 ...	14·33
13 ...	15 ...	2·0 ...	15·0
14 ...	12 ...	2·0 ...	16·0
Total ...	50 ...	2·72 ...	14·72

Years spent in high school by free scholars from elementary schools :—

Years in school.	No
2 years	2
3 ,, ...	2
4 ,, ...	7
5 ,, ...	2
7 ,, ...	1
Total	14
Now in school	7

Age at entrance.	No.	Average years in school.	Average age at leaving.
11 ...	1 ...	4·0 ...	15·0
12 ...	4 ...	5·0 ...	17·0
13 ...	5 ...	3·5 ...	16·5
14 ...	3 ...	4·0 ...	18·0
*16 ...	1 ...	2·0 ...	18·0
—	14	3·9	16·9

There seems good reason to believe that instead of the scholarship system enabling working-men to send their daughters to middle schools, it rather encourages middle-class men to send their daughters to Board schools in the hope of obtaining scholarships. Where the competition is really keen the winners are generally of the middle class. The entrance scholarships offered by the schools under the Charity Commissioners' regulations are generally only open to pupils of the elementary public schools, children in private schools, or children taught at home being unable to compete, however poor their parents may be. The private schools are extremely bad, no good private school being able to compete with the low rates of the Board schools, and few parents in the working classes teach their own children. The grievance may therefore seem merely a formal one; the discouragement given to parents from making efforts to send their children at an early age to the middle schools may seem a more serious matter. But as the working classes

* Went to a middle school for three years, and then to a high school.

become better educated it is not unreasonable to hope that some mothers may become competent to teach their children themselves, and great as may be the advantages of the modern public school system, it is desirable that the qualities which are developed best by private and individual tuition should not be entirely disregarded. That the private elementary schools are so bad, is not entirely due to radical defects in the system, but also to their deliberate exclusion from the incentives towards progress offered to rate-aided and subsidized public schools.

Very few of the girls who obtain the scholarships have more than average ability when compared with their schoolfellows in the secondary schools. In one school the headmistress finds them very intelligent, taking a good place notwithstanding that they are considerably handicapped by having learnt nothing but arithmetic and rules of grammar; but here these scholars admittedly belong to the middle classes. In another school where the number of free scholars is so large that the head-mistress could not be asked to give particulars about them, they did not take at all as high a place in proportion to their numbers as the other girls. One-fourth of the number are free scholars; but of the captains of the school during the last sixteen years, only one held a scholarship from an elementary public school; of twenty-two who passed the Cambridge Examinations between 1875 and 1884, two were free scholars; of twelve who passed the Cambridge Junior in the last two years, two were free scholars; of thirty-five who passed the examination of the College of Preceptors in the last year, six were free scholars. The small proportion is partly due to the fact that they leave earlier than the other girls, but partly also to the fact that the girls are of very ordinary capacity. The evidence of the head-mistress of a high school drawn up in 1886, may be quoted in this connection. "The diligence of these girls has been very satisfactory. They have worked hard, and there

are no cases of irregularity of attendance or want of punctuality. We find that they have been quiet and well mannered, and, so far as we know, have not in any way been objected to by the other girls. Speaking generally these girls do not develop later as much as one might expect from their earlier promise. Till the numbers (at this time twenty-two) are larger, this judgment must not be looked on as more than an impression to which it would be a mistake to attach much weight. It does not, of course, affect the question of the benefit derived by these girls from the higher education so far as they can use it. They distinctly receive great benefit socially and intellectually from their admission to a higher school. Our impression is that these girls are generally under-sized or otherwise deficient in physique. We cannot make any general statement as to the intellectual quality of the School Board scholars sent to us. Some are very common-place in ability, and some are not at all common-place, although we do not think any, so far, of first-rate capacity. One, however, attained the position of head of the Sixth Form in her year, and we have a very favourable impression of four or five of those who are now in the school." Of the free scholars at this school eleven have passed the Cambridge Senior Examination, four have matriculated at London University, two have passed the Intermediate Arts Examination, and one has obtained the B.A. degree at London University. One of these is now teaching in a high school, four are teachers in Board schools, five are in the post-office, two are telegraph clerks, one is in a training college for teachers, eight are still in the school.

Before passing to the question of the history of the free scholars in middle schools, after leaving school, one or two other points may be best considered and brought out by the evidence of a lady who has had a most exceptional experience and unusual opportunities for studying the relation between elementary and secondary

schools. In 1864 the only large elementary school in her neighbourhood was one which had stringent regulations against religious teaching of any kind. In order to give parents an opportunity of obtaining for their children religious teaching on an unsectarian basis, Miss —— founded her elementary schools. They succeeded, and new buildings were in process of erection when the Act of 1870 was passed, but they were not abandoned. Under the Mundella Code they were enabled to take the Government grant. A second grade school was later on established, being originally a continuation of these elementary schools, and at first in a wing of the same building; it was removed to another part of the neighbourhood two years ago, and has taken up a better position as a higher grade school, and has a kindergarten and elementary department. There are sixty-three girls in this school and most of the teachers in the elementary schools have been pupils in the higher grade school at one time. Two scholarships are competed for, enabling two girls from the elementary school to go to the middle school at half-price, the fees of the latter school being from £3. 3*s* to £8. Free scholarships have never been given. About one-third of the girls in the middle school have come from the elementary school, their parents paying the whole expense. The unusually large proportion who are allowed by their parents to continue their education at a higher grade school must be attributed to the close connection between the two schools. The teachers are under the same management; those at the elementary school therefore do not lose sight of the children, and are given credit for their after success, and the children are anxious to follow in the footsteps of their sisters or old school-mates who have passed on to the higher school. They are not admitted on sufferance, and although their primary education has perforce been conducted on the lines laid down by the Education Department, it has been

more adapted to the after requirements of the middle school. One observation of the honorary director of these schools has been confirmed by other head-mistresses, who agree that it is better for girls from the elementary schools to pass on to the middle schools, and then if they can hold their own there to proceed to a high school. The transition from the elementary school to the high school is often too violent for the girl to make progress; the curriculum of a school adapted for girls who stay until they are eighteen or nineteen necessitating a different elementary education from that given in the Board schools, and in a lesser degree from that in the middle schools where girls leave at fifteen or sixteen. The scholarship money would also last longer if this course were pursued. It will be seen in the list of occupations taken up after leaving school that comparatively few of these girls become teachers in the Board schools. They are themselves disinclined to do so, and moreover they receive but little encouragement from the Board school mistresses, who in many cases positively dislike having under them girls who have been at higher grade schools.

Occupations of free scholars from elementary schools on leaving middle schools :*—

Elementary teachers	21
Post-office and telegraph clerks and sorters	18
At home	10
Milliners	5
Dressmakers	6
Clerks	4
Shop assistants	4
Private school teachers	3
Type writers	2
	73

The average age of the girls leaving the middle schools to become elementary teachers was 13·9 years, and the average time spent in the middle school by them was

* List obtained from two schools only.

one year and two terms. The brightest and most intelligent girls stayed longer, and chose some other occupation, the post-office being preferred.

Occupations of elementary scholars (not free) after leaving middle schools :—

At home	9
Book-keepers and clerks	8
Elementary teachers	7
Post-office and telegraph clerks	6
Shop assistants	5
Dressmakers	4
Kindergarten teachers	1
Teaching brother and sisters	1
	41

From these facts it is evident that our middle schools afford a secondary education to girls of the middle and lower middle class only; that to the working classes none is offered; that the education in the middle schools is more adapted to the needs of the middle class, and is not of the kind that would be valued by girls destined for work in the factory, and for the management of labouring class homes; and that the girls who obtain scholarships and spend some time in the higher grade schools are not welcomed as teachers in elementary schools, and therefore benefit their own class but little by their superior education, although perhaps benefiting by it themselves considerably. What is needed by girls in the working classes is not so much the provision of a "ladder from the gutter to the University" as widespread instruction in practical domestic economy, the laws of health, and acquaintance with good literature. By practical domestic economy I must not be understood to mean a training of the kind necessary for domestic service. The majority of girls in East and South London will never be attracted into domestic service, and their home needs are of a very different order from those of the servant-keeping classes. The problem is to induce parents who have but one or two rooms to let their chil-

dren after they have left school come for an hour or two in the afternoon for lessons in cottage cookery, house cleaning, methods of ventilation, washing and ironing, sick nursing, &c., adapted to the requirements of households living under primitive conditions. Between the ages of thirteen and fifteen many girls are kept at home to mind the baby—in some cases to take the management of the home while the mother goes out to work. The difficulty that at once suggests itself is the disposal of the baby; but for the purpose in view we have here not an obstacle but a help. In a school of the kind which is needed in all the poor districts of London baby management should be taught, and in this department at least there would be no lack of apparatus for practical demonstration lessons. But in all branches the apparatus should be of the simplest and cheapest kind, and if well managed such schools would so considerably increase domestic comfort that parents would see the advantage of paying fees for such a training for their children. The afternoon is the best time to choose for many reasons. The girls themselves have then little to do but gossip with their neighbours, and they are not exposed to the dangers which make evening classes but a choice between two evils.

But the intellectual education of the factory girl and the child-nurse should not be neglected even for these more imperative and immediate wants; and that education can best be obtained through the medium of good literature. If these children are backward in everything else, in a knowledge of all that is termed "life" they are only too precocious. They know evil so well in too many cases that in offering them of the tree of knowledge we are but introducing them to the good and helping them to discern it. We need not fear to put into their hands, or to give them the key to the works of the great novelists and essayists whom we have recognized as our greatest teachers and our best friends.

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BAYERISCHE STAATS-BIBLIOTHEK MUENCHEN

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